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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1981

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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MINISTRIES SCORED FOR LACK OF GUIDANCE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 3, 20 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Jiri Bagar: "Why the Slack in Brigade Organization?"]

[Text] The following recently occurred in an engineering plant: I asked an economic official who accompanied me to several production sites, whether the local collectives had already started using brigade organization in their work. The individual, a bright 40-year-old, quickly responded by saying that such a thing was considered quite natural in their organization.

I admit I was surprised and therefore inquired into the local conditions in more detail, when I had another surprise coming. That otherwise well-informed individual was referring to something else, rather than the brigade organization as such. He understood my question as having to do with the experiences and organization of competition for the title of Brigade of Socialist Labor [BSP], or for the bronze, silver, or gold badges. Brigade organization of labor as such has evidently not yet penetrated the gates of this plant. On the contrary, it was I who had to answer my host's questions about such forms of labor organization. Toward the end of our meeting, we agreed that people at work sites would probably welcome something like that.

A few days after my return to Prague, RUDE PRAVO published an interview with the secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], Ladislav Jasik, who explained on the pages of the principal party paper the principles of the brigade form of work. As stated by Comrade Jasik, the URO presidium had approved as early as 7 January 1981 a document dealing with the intensification of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] participation in the resolution of problems in the area of labor and wages. The document charged the enterprise and plant ROH committees, among other things, to assist--especially in industry and construction--in applying and verifying brigade forms of labor organization. Not everything, however, in this area can be handled by the trade unions alone. It is, therefore, startling that even several months after the approval of the above-mentioned URO document, the appropriate ministries have not yet issued at least general and preliminary principles which would stimulate a broader application of the brigade organization. The fact that an economic official in the plant from which I recently returned did not know the principles of this form of work in production collectives was not an isolated phenomenon. It is quite likely that I would encounter such surprises elsewhere as well.

I realize, of course, that people will say that even in this case should we not merely passively wait for instructions, since economic workers could have gained considerable knowledge on the brigade organization from other sources. I can accept such an argument only partially. It is true that the application of brigade forms of labor organization depends primarily on the initiatives of the people. These, however, must emanate from relatively detailed principles which cannot be issued (in cooperation with the unions) by anyone but the appropriate organ of economic management. We would certainly not find anyone in the branch economic institution who would openly underestimate the initiative of labor collectives. How then can we reconcile the cited incident with the facts as presented by the URO secretary in a conversation with a RUDE PRAVO editor? Is a year not long enough for the appropriate ministries to at least issue principles which the people in enterprises could base themselves on?

While we are still marking time in this area, in the other socialist countries--notably the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and the GDR--the brigade form of labor organization has already become a widespread movement whose development has brought forth unquestionably positive results. They have been written about even in TVORBA and our editor based his account on experience he had encountered as long as 2 years ago, during a trip to Bulgaria, at the Vidin chemical combine, and somewhat later in the Electrotechnical Combine of Friedrich Ebert whose basic enterprise is located in the GDR capital.

The substance of the brigade form of labor organization may be expressed quite succinctly, it can be applied by every collective which operates in sectors where production represents a certain closed cycle. The brigade signs an agreement with economic management which entails certain responsibilities for both sides. The collective pledges to produce within prescribed deadlines the planned, or an even higher, quantity of quality goods through full application of its members' efforts and thrifty use of assigned machinery, tools, and materials, as well as fuels and energy resources. The economic management, in turn, pledges to create precisely prescribed conditions for the collective and its effort.

To the argument that these are not really pledges but an enumeration of duties, I must add an important clarification, namely, that the agreement makes it quite clear what will happen if the collective or management fails to fulfill a certain task. The brigade, for example, has the right to demand from management compensation for any idle time which it did not cause. It then becomes a relatively independent kholzraschet unit which has a vested interest in good management, since both savings and losses are immediately reflected in its earnings.

Toward the end of the month, the collective holds a meeting where it assesses the work performed, discusses future tasks and, simultaneously, decides--based on the foreman's report--on the amount of the flexible wage portion of each of its members. Promotion of any member to a higher wage category usually also requires brigade approval. During my trips abroad, it occurred to me whether this system might lead to an intensification of egalitarianism. The reaction to such a question was always the same, namely, while in the past the distribution of wage means was the subject of frequent disputes, today the situation is different, for it is impossible to engage in speculation in the spotlight of one's coworkers. Every one receives only that which he deserves, and this reflects the moral influence of the collective.

I cannot explain everything in this article, however, even what has been noted here shows that we should cease marking time on the need to apply the brigade form of labor organization and compensation.

We have certain positive experiences in this respect from the collectives in mining operations and brigades which tried to apply the Soviet Zlobin method in their work. Generally speaking, however, emphasis on the brigade form of organization is still lagging, thus demonstrating even in this area how still harmful are the various manifestations of business as usual or caution, behind which really lurks the laziness of a given worker. Let us shape up those who would prefer to be left alone, let us not waste one of the most important instruments of stimulating people's activism, which the collective form of labor organization certainly is.

9496

CSO: 2400/131

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ART TO FOLLOW MORE CLOSELY 'PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST REALISM'

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Dec 81 p 4

[*"Ninth GDR Art Exhibition to Open on 2 Oct 82--Expectations of the Public: Partisanship and Masterly Skills"--Interview with Dr Horst Kolodziej, first secretary, Association of GDR Plastic Arts; by Dietmar Eisold, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "The Working Class: Pivot and Creative Efforts--Manifold Aspects of Our Life Portrayed Realistically and Truthfully--Principles of Socialist Realism: Criterion for July Decision"*]

[Text] In all bezirks of our republic, the members and candidates of the Association of GDR Plastic Arts are busy preparing their ninth art exhibition. The date is October 1982, when the doors will open at the Albertinum and exhibition halls at Fucik Platz for 6 months, and when there will then be the opportunity to take a look at the further developmental stage in socialist art production. Our associate Dietmar Eisold spoke with Dr Horst Kolodziej about the status of the preparations and the further measures.

Intensive Work on Important Commissions

[Question] What are the focal points of the Association of GDR Plastic Arts in this last preparatory phase for the ninth exhibition?

[Answer] Ten months is not very long, particularly because for the creative work on the works of art there are actually only 3 months left. In March already the bezirks will start preselecting for Dresden. That clearly commits the efforts of all the members of our association to concluding the work on their contributions. Special attention is paid to works that were commissioned by social partners and that portray the particularly important subjects and themes of our social development and international class struggle. As far as I know, there are circa 800 commissions they are now working on, 100 of them under the patronage of the Ministry for Culture and the FDGB National Executive Committee--our most important partners--and of central section managements in the Association.

[Question] The centerpiece of any artistic effort and test, so it says in the prospectus for the ninth art exhibit, is the portrayal of the workers class as the irreplaceable center of our art. What use has been made in assigning commissions to gain advances in this field?

[Answer] Deep and intensive relations of the members of the association with our socialist reality and the ability to evaluate all phenomena in a party-minded manner are indispensable for generating works of art that are not only close to reality but true to reality. That mainly implies promoting the intellectual partnership between artists and work collectives. Here commissions have proven and are proving an important form for stimulating and promoting such partnerships.

Our information tells us that all bezirks have commissioned paintings, graphics and plastics committed to the working class theme. That applies to its portrayal in the work process itself, in the collective, and covers of course the whole breadth of its vital manifestations. To me it seems remarkable in this connection that along with well known and renowned artists like Willi Sitte, Bernhard Heisig, Gerhard Kettner or Walter Wornacka, many young colleagues have artistically been dealing with the working class theme. At this point, no precise analysis of the results can of course yet be given, but I am sure such efforts will encounter special attention.

#### Preselection Serves the Debate Within the Association

[Question] As to the jury and preselection. The jury for the visual arts will make its decision between 3 and 14 May, its chairman being Bernhard Heisig. Then comes, between 17 and 28 May the work of the jury for the applied arts, also in Dresden, under the chairmanship of Clauss Dietel. What is the function of preselection in this system?

[Answer] Between 9 and 26 March a preselection will be made in all bezirks. It mainly serves to make the debate about art in the association, the exchange of views among the colleagues about what they have done and where they stand and what their position is more fruitful. We think confident and comradely conversations are highly suitable to assessing one's own work constructively and critically.

But even for very practical reasons it is an indispensable procedure. Every member and candidate of our organization has the right to submit up to three works in each discipline of the visual and applied arts but no more than at most a total of nine works. Our experiences of the eighth art exhibit suggest we have to expect circa 15,000 submissions in all genres and species. Space in the Albertinum and the exhibition halls on Fucik Platz is such that we can show no more than 3,000 works. For a responsible selection it therefore is necessary to view the total output thoroughly beforehand, to make sure the juries get alone but the best to judge. Tasks forces of the juries will attend the preselection where they can get an overall view of it. Each juror is entitled to offer also works to the jury which in the bezirks were not recommended to go to Dresden.

**Answer to Stirring Questions in Our Time**

[Question] Jury work means decision-making, means selection. What are the criteria which govern that?

[Answer] The presidium and the juries are made up of 85 experienced and proven artists of our association. In a joint conference they have unequivocally come out in favor of clear statements in the prospectus for the ninth art exhibition: party-mindedness, solidarity with the people, and a content of socialist ideas. High-quality works based on humanistic commitment are taken into consideration. Modernistic trends or any kind of -isms, action paintings or photo documentations of such action paintings will be left out since they essentially have nothing in common with our visual arts concept.

Expectations of the ninth art exhibit are not all the same everywhere, of course, but if I now refer to three essential ones I do so because I know the borderlines among them are fluid and expectations overlap and coincide in many points. The public expects an art for its own use, works that place man in harmony with himself, his fellow-men, with nature and his world. These are then also works that are judged in terms of their utility to one's own apartment. Those who place the orders expect an art which, in its aggregate, reflects the whole variety of the political, social and individual relations in our republic and at the same time takes a party-minded position on the issues that move our time. The artists themselves, the art historians and specialists, finally, simply are looking for quality in design, rich inventiveness and formal consistency.

This the jury will take into account in its work. Its aim is to present an exhibition with subjects and themes that touch the nerve of our time and which show the concerns of man here and today in an affective fashion.

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CSO: 2300/147

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TALENT RATHER THAN IDEOLOGY DECISIVE IN STUDENT SELECTION

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 116, 26 Oct 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: Social Background No Longer a Criterion for College Admission. A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG interview cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the selection of GDR students for the extended high schools leading to the Abitur [college admission], talent alone will be the deciding criterion in the future. This was emphasized by Professor Gerhart Neuner, president of the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, in an interview with the East Berlin SONNTAG (no 43, 25 Oct 81). Thus he turned against the criteria still largely used today, which are primarily of an ideological nature, such as a working class background or toeing the political party line. Only those with the greatest talent and the moral and character qualifications for successful university study should be admitted to the Abitur. This starts with an improved basic selection from among all the pupils of the 10-year high schools. Those students "who will later on become the best scientists, engineers and technocrats" are the ones who belong in the extended high schools. Neuner emphatically denounced the "deplorable custom" of basing the selection of students for college admission on the system of a grade average. There are some cases in which even special [technical] schools turned away highly gifted students because they had done poorly in spelling.

GDR Academy President Interview

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 43, 25 Oct 81 p 8

[Interview with Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, by Werner Mueller-Claud, deputy chief editor, SONNTAG: date and place of interview not indicated: "Talents and the Talented Ones." Slantlines denote italics as published.]

[Text] [Question]: The effort to recognize and utilize the creative potential of man at an early stage, and in particular to pay greater attention to developing the talented ones, has increasingly become the subject of discussion, especially since the Tenth SED Party Congress and the Eighth Pedagogical Congress. The task itself is no longer in dispute. The question of how to proceed is a different matter. Does the Academy have clearly defined programs to cope with this task?

[Answer]: There are programs, certain directions and results in research, support for their introduction into school life--a whole spectrum of measures whose concrete presentation would take up too much space here. Generally it is a matter of full utilization of the potential of our socialist educational system, of our 10-year high school to college entrance and university education, from occupational training to [actual] work at a job, there is the question where these potentials lie and how to mobilize them; promotion of specific gifts and talents, procedures to stimulate higher mental activity, a differentiated approach to the individual and to student groups, varied, stimulating relationships which challenge creativity towards work and life, the teaching of attitudes to contribute one's best to society--a talent which does not become productive in the sciences is no good to us. With regard to teaching, there are procedures and results dealing with problem solving in teaching and learning, there are publications on differentiated task approaches which take into account the different levels of students and groups. It is a matter of improving acceptance into technical schools and classes, of analyzing their work, and of proposals for greater effectiveness, especially in natural sciences and technology, of new task definitions for productive activity in industry taking into account scientific and technological developments; here I can name only a few. The point of all these measures and research activities is to better utilize existing facilities and, where necessary, to create new ones. But let us deal with the existing facilities. The student of a 10-year polytechnical high school experiences more than 10,000 school periods during his years at school. This enormous learning period can win a human being over to an interesting life, can make him effective, mold revolutionary attitudes, but it can also blunt him, produce calluses in the wrong places--speaking bluntly--kill a living spirit. All our activities and all our research are directed towards the former, our battle is against the latter.

[Question]: Within the complex of problems "gifts, talents and their promotion" there are still some unanswered questions. May one inquire what is being done at the academy in this regard?

[Answer]: Leaving aside immediate research into the questions of how gifts and talents manifest themselves, how they are structured, how to recognize and develop them, almost all our projects work towards this subject. Let's take our program for further development of the polytechnic school, for better student preparation for scientific-technological progress. That is to say, the students are to be drawn into interesting production processes, into the struggle for scientific-technological progress, to learn to grasp what is involved through problems comprehensible to them, even to solve new tasks themselves... In this process, new proving grounds are created for talents, attitudes. A talent is not expressed in the abstract, after all, it emerges at play, in learning, at work, in struggling. When the students in the VEB Robotron Dresden are themselves involved in the production of calculators of the ESDR series, in reducing technical solutions to their scientific bases, when they contribute to the work of making production processes more efficient, then this leads directly to those areas where talent is needed and molded.

There is still untapped potential in the field of promoting talent. We have mathematics olympiads. On a county basis, about 10,000 5th grade pupils participate, on a district basis about 1,000 7th graders, and on a national basis about 180 of

the 10th graders. Despite all the problems, a genuine selection [process]! Yet not all of these pupils are purposefully supported later on. At the same time, there are students in the special mathematics schools who do not truly belong there. This concerns all of us, the universities, the Academy of Sciences: What happens to the mathematics wizards in the future? As stated by the Tenth Party Congress, the problem of promoting talent can only be solved by the schools /in conjunction with/ the universities and the Academy of Sciences!

[Question]: It seems to me that there is still the problem of talents discovered early. Question: Will a very young mathematical talent--I have Gauss in mind--prove himself also under the difficult conditions of later age?

[Answer]: Not every talent, there are early bloomers who do not live up to all expectations; there are late bloomers, but one should not bypass a young mathematical "genius". In assignments and at work, it will soon become apparent if there is a real "winner". There are the various levels of the mathematics olympiads, other types of olympiads, fairs, work teams... Incidentally, the search for mathematical talent is as important as ever. Mathematicians, in connection with microelectronics, are needed everywhere in economics, in the sciences. Students from special mathematics schools and classes are gladly accepted everywhere. This may possibly be related to the fact that, as tests have shown, in the case of mathematical talents there is a high proportion of general intellectual elements in the talent structure, while specific elements play a lesser role; in the case of specific artistic talents, for instance in art or music, special elements play a larger role in the talent profile. This refers to questions of recognition and promotion of talents. At present we are working on proposals for more effective results of fairs and olympiads and on analyses and proposals for the development of special schools.

[Question]: What other measures for promoting talent are there, besides introducing problem solving in teaching, more effective implementation of fairs and olympiads, better integration into industry?

[Answer]: All measures [aiming] at higher quality and effectiveness in college preparation are a part of this. In the further development of our extended high schools, in the classes preparing for occupations requiring the Abitur, emphasis is on the nature of these institutions as preparatory and selective for university studies. This educational level should only be attended by those who have the greatest capabilities and the moral qualities and character for successful university study. It starts with improved selection from among all the students of the 10-year high school. It concerns the quality of obligatory and optional education on the basis of a new curriculum. In education, emphasis must be given to diligence, perseverance, tenacity, on efforts to solve problems, on political-moral attitudes, etc. Independent study habits, study-oriented measures, a larger proportion of practical scientific tasks in industry are also a part. Those students who later on become the best scientists, engineers, technocrats are the ones who belong in those schools.

With regard to our special technical schools and classes, the selection process has already been changed for this school year. The special school of physics in Frankfurt (Oder), for instance, which is closely connected with the semiconductor

plant, with microelectronics, now admits not only students from the city of Frankfurt but--in the interest of greater selection--also students from the entire district. This focuses the question even more sharply: by what criteria? What qualities should they have? What cadres does the development of microelectronics require, and with what kinds of capabilities? These are also questions which go far beyond the school, which also concern the combination of microelectronics, universities, and the Academy of Sciences.

[Question]: Do those with specific talents have a chance for college and university admission if they apply with a leveling grade average?

[Answer]: That is a real problem. We cannot do without grades, but we are strictly against abuse of the grade average in general, and in career and admission decisions. For years, the guidelines issued by the Minister of Public Education and by us have been to definitely consider the /whole/ personality in the matter of admissions--this includes interests, inclinations, anticipated extraordinary achievements, political-moral qualities, will power. We have come across cases where even special technical schools did not admit highly gifted students because they had done poorly in spelling. Probably a whole number of ingrained habits in school and society are responsible for the deplorable custom of using grade averages as a basis. What can one say, for instance, when a young athlete on television is often introduces with the remark: "And he also has a grade average of 1.2 [U.S. equivalent of about 3.8 or 3.9]..." We do not have to prove with mathematical grade averages that our athletes are well educated.

[Question]: The measures for promotion of talent promulgated by the Minister of Public Education, by the Academy of Sciences, are the /one/ power...

[Answer]: Parents and all of the public are the other. I need not dwell at length on the importance of parental example, family atmosphere, discussions at the family table on scientific and artistic questions, debates about teleplays etc., for the awakening of interests and inclinations and for the distance a child has to go to find his talent (or talents).

There are still other areas which--although often overlooked--influence development of the imagination, stimulate curiosity about certain technical correlations. I want to mention toys, above all. Technical toys, for example, with their ever greater automatic perfection are not good teachers, do not leave room for the child's own technical, creative and constructive imagination. We need new technical, electronic and electric construction sets which encourage and promote problem-oriented play and learning. We are concerned with an even better total atmosphere for further blossoming of a "technical consciousness". And this holds primarily true for our high schools. It is common practice in many schools that there are bulletin boards showing top athletes, athletic diplomas etc., that sports trophies are displayed... It is rarer to find certificates for outstanding technical achievements, models of inventions, exhibits, articles from technical magazines, new books, pictures of great scientists and inventors, an echo to great discoveries. Why should the walls in school corridors not also be decorated with those?

[Question]: This would already be a part of the subject of "stimulation + motivation". In our country, it must become a matter of course that all citizens, and preferably

also the students, see themselves as revolutionaries. This also means: world responsibilities, world problems, the will to contribute to their solution, are among the stimuli for high achievements. But can a person at an early age already grasp what it means to solve the energy problem?

[Answer]: And how young students understand this! Our young people are growing up in a world where the mass media carry problems into the home, in which teachers explain to them the causes of unemployment and misery; they are growing into a society which makes every effort to solve its own problems--and we are well on the way--and to contribute its share to the solution of world problems.

And so the students ask: Why is there hunger? What alternative energy sources are there in addition to the conventional ones? How long will our brown-coal last, and how should it be exploited? And they do not only ask: What do we do with the exhausted strip mines? They also help--as in the youth initiative around Lake Senftenberg--; they recultivate. This need for participation on the part of the students necessitates, of course, that the teacher is prepared for concrete answers. Students do not want platitudes, they want "directional knowledge", so to speak. For instance: What are the possibilities, strategies, alternatives in such and such a case? Incidentally, together with the Academy of Sciences we are now publishing a series of articles--concerning the presentation of scientific development, economic and ideological problems, how to resolve problems, etc.--in all pedagogical magazines for teachers; for they need this knowledge in their work with young people.

Of course, all of this is only a part of the spectrum which consists of promotion of talent, learning activities and early training towards the will to achieve.

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CSO: 2300/128

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'CLASS-CONSCIOUS' ANALYSIS OF WESTERN PEDAGOGICAL CONCEPTS URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 18, 4 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Pedagogues Are to Treat Bourgeois Educational Concepts in a More Differentiated Way." A translation of the East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK report cited below follows this commentary. A translation of an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article on a related subject is published under the heading, "Intensified Ideological Propaganda in Education Urged," in JPRS 79476, 19 Nov 81, No 1943 of this series, pp 20-22]

[Text] The GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences' Scientific Council for Foreign Pedagogy has called for a more intensive and at once more differentiated confrontation with educational concepts developed in Western countries. In a "class-bound analysis" of those positions more of a differentiation should have to be made between "anticommunists and noncommunists." More attention also was demanded for exploring epistemological aspects of solutions for problems modeled, projected and introduced in school by bourgeois theoretical conceptions. It should by no means be ignored, however, that they in their essence and appearance were committed to "the ideology, strategy and policy of imperialism." An "aggressive confrontation" always was necessary with the "extreme intensification" anticomunism had experienced in the conceptions of bourgeois educational policy and pedagogics during the transition to the 1980's. (PAEDAGOGIK No 1, 1982)

GDR Pedagogic Conference Discussions

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 21 Dec 81) pp 62-65

[ 'Information from Science and Practice' report on the recent conference of the GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences' Scientific Council for Foreign Pedagogy; by Dr Konrad Berger, secretary, Scientific Council for Foreign Pedagogy: "Tasks and Problems of Foreign Pedagogy in the Wake of the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] The conference of the GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences' Scientific Council for Foreign Pedagogy was assigned a twofold task: first, to confer on continuing research tasks and strategies, with a more long-range substantive orientation, subject to the 10th SED Congress resolutions and documents, the social

science conference and the Fifth University Conference of the GDR. Second, through the defense of plan project conceptions for which the research groups of the pedagogical colleges of Erfurt/Muehlhausen, Guestrow and Leipzig are accountable up to 1985, a course was taken that aims at further improving the work of the scientific council.

In the main speech, Prof Dr H.-G. Hotmann (Office for Foreign Pedagogy, Academy of Pedagogic Sciences) presented the continuity and dynamics and the qualitatively new aspects of the strategy the 10th SED Congress prepared for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

One important task in foreign pedagogy therefore is to process the scientific data on the development of the educational system that are available in socialist countries. That should still more be done against the background of the social development that has taken place in the countries. Attention should be given to the novel dialectics between objective conditions and subjective factors as determined and produced by the development of socialism. It is based essentially on economic laws and is one of the sources of its growing superiority in culture and education. The dialectics also poses new goals in this field while it also opens up the conditions for achieving them. It opens a wide field of deployment for mass initiative and personal commitment. An analysis and evaluation what all have in common but also of the specific features in the educational system of the socialist countries ought to pay attention to the differences in emphases in the course taken, in conformity with nationally differing conditions, toward creating the foundations or the further shaping of developed socialism.

The research task to work out what the educational systems of the socialist countries have in common and what their particulars are, and to develop problem solutions that conform with the requirements of national developments and are committed to proletarian internationalism, implies constantly generalizing the insights of Soviet educational policy and pedagogics.

Tapping the wealth of socialism in the educational and cultural field, this foreign pedagogy research task, is gaining importance through the solidary support from the developing countries with a socialist bent. This also includes specific research on the relation between the society and the educational system in such countries.

Another important research task also is to observe the various functions played by the developing countries with a capitalist bent in the worldwide class conflict and contribute in the field of educational policy and pedagogics by a class-bound social analysis of the main impulses for that development.

Another field of research is work on the educational policy, school and pedagogics in capitalist or developed bourgeois states.

An aggressive confrontation is necessary with the extreme intensification anti-communism has experienced in bourgeois educational policy and pedagogics, also with regard to its forms and methods, during the transition to the 1980's. One factor that marks this development is that manipulation is imposed on education so as to place it still more in the service of mental rearmament, (ideological)

warfare. This hides the attempt to disguise, to cover up, the progressive polarization of the class forces by developing irrational, illusory contents of consciousness among the youths. In the center there must be the realization that exploitation and utilization processes are the unalterable norm which one can respond to by sacrifice, performance readiness and renunciation.

In line with the irrationalism in the theoretical conceptions of educational policy is the recently greater attachment to certain trends in bourgeois philosophy, especially conceptions in vitalism. They are complementary to positivistic orientations which are, by that token, not abandoned. Yet orienting the school principally along the lines of bourgeois social theory, sociology, psychology and political science, despite dual shifts, has not been completely negated. Contemplation, ascesis, solidarity with all who want to preserve the capitalist society above and beyond class boundaries are again becoming central reference points in the imperialist conceptions of educational theory. It is especially important to work out the contribution it is making to the attempted evolution of the overall imperialist strategy on adjusting to the effort to find new ways and means to preserve the system by at least temporarily containing its instability. Here also more attention must be given to a class-bound social analysis of these positions, differentiating between anticomunists and noncommunists.

More must be done in exploring heuristic aspects of problem solutions that were modeled, projected and introduced in school through bourgeois theoretical conceptions. By no means must one ignore that in essence and appearance they are committed to the ideology, strategy and policy of imperialism.

Meeting all these tasks calls for further advances in science organization and in the theoretical-methodological and methods penetration of the new tasks in foreign pedagogy research. In that context the main speech pointed to the summation of the main data in foreign pedagogy research between 1976 and 1980, prepared by the Office for Foreign Pedagogy together with cooperative partners within and outside the GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences.<sup>1</sup>

The efficiency improvement expected of this summation is, among other things, that the relation between topical relevance and long term, which is especially significant for certain tasks, can be conceived to such an extent that scientific data and other temporary results become available to school management and decision-making processes proper as to time frames and in quality.

The center of the second part of the conference was taken up with the defense of the initial conceptualizations on projects in the pedagogical research plan for which research groups at pedagogical colleges are accountable up to 1985.

Collective viewpoints developed by the research community, "Imperialism Analysis--Political Education Among Youth in the FRG," (Guestrau), and presented by Prof Dr R.-J. Girbig, related, among other things, to  
--goals and functions of political education within the scope of, altogether, pressing for a conservative education in social crisis awareness;  
--the strengthening of political socialization as a priority integration concept;  
--the future-directed concentration of ideology regulation through political education;

- the entwining of ideological manipulation with diversion in political education; and
- problems of ideological-political uniformity and social differentiation of conceptions on political education.

The elaboration of standpoints reflects the effort to stake out, on the basis of data already available, new, still unresearched problem fields in connection with the research strategy considerations needed for working on them.

The conceptualizations of the research group, "Nationalistic and Anticomunist Manipulation of School Youth in the Imperialist Countries," (Erfurt/Muehlhausen), presented by the late Prof Dr R. Hub, aim at further exploring the entry of certain forms and variables of anticomunism and nationalism all the way to the chauvinistic-revanchist excesses in political education. The presentation of the processes of history by the bourgeois school in concert with the social educational environment are to form one of the essential research trends.

Considerations offered, on behalf of the research group, "Critique of Bourgeois Philosophy," (Leipzig), by Prof Dr H. Mahr illuminate the desire further to develop insights on the relationship between bourgeois philosophy and pedagogics, especially with regard to the so-called value problems, and on the methodological problems in confrontation and the critique in the sense of philosophic basic research.

Conceptualizations presented demonstrated that performance improvements were achieved everywhere in recent years when research was integrated with summation, conception, realization and application.

The discussion of the main speech and the statements by the chiefs of the research groups once more underscored the need for more of a class-bound social analysis of the various forces' basic positions that are related to the worldwide class conflict about school and education. Prof Dr H. Kurze (Dresden), Prof Dr H.-J. Laabs and Dr G. Sielski (Berlin) emphasized that by the presentation of those forces, especially the social interstrata, through an analysis and evaluation of their ideas of life and protest movements, a concrete contribution is being made to lead to success in alliance with them the offensive for peace and against the imperialist arms race. Research on that includes support for the struggle by communist parties in capitalist countries against that main trend in anticomunism that seeks to insulate the communists from the masses.

In summarizing the outcome of the conference (Prof Dr H. Becker, Department of Labor), the internationalization of the processes that relate to the school and education, was rated as an expression of the worldwide struggle.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. The summation of the chief results of foreign pedagogy research, 1976-1980 is likely to be published, printed as manuscript, by the Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin.

EDUCATION MINISTRY PLANS FOR SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Maria Mazurowa, director of the Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, by Polish correspondent Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "4 January 1982 Marks the Beginning of School Activities/Responsibility for Youth"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Polish Press] [Question] Following a 2 week break, Poland's schools will reopen on 4 January 1982. Teaching will be performed under conditions of martial law. What are the consequences of this situation for pupils and teachers? we asked Maria Mazurowa, director of the Department of General Education in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

[Answer] We assume that the schools will begin to operate normally on 4 January. The working conditions are difficult, of course. To the restrictions connected with the situation in Poland we can add the difficulties youth are having traveling to lessons, the lack of fuel, etc, or all the inconveniences which winter brings. Therefore, at present special importance is being attached to good work organization, careful deliberation on all decisions made by the director, and disciplining of employees in educational posts.

[Question] Are basic changes in instruction envisaged?

[Answer] No. Up until now teachers have been implementing a valid program. Lesson plans also remain unchanged. But in special cases the school director has the right to limit program contents. He also has the right and even the obligation to introduce changes in the weekly class roster if circumstances warrant it. The schools remain--in principle--on a 5 day week. Recreational activities will take place on Saturdays which are organized primarily with a view to children of parents working on that day. Youth should not be deprived of upbringing care. In justified cases, lessons also can be held on Saturdays. The directors have been authorized to make this type of decision.

Of course, all work should end in time for elementary school pupils to be home by 6 pm, and older youth, by 9 pm; these hours can be changed depending on stipulations that are binding for all of Poland. As is well known, many educational posts have been active until the late afternoon hours on account of three shifts of lessons or extracurricular activities. Now they will have to reorganize their

activities. Despite the restrictions that have been introduced, we appeal for concern with the effectiveness of teaching and upbringing. We are counting on the school management and educational councils to do their best to make each minute of pupil-educator contact productive and educationally useful.

[Question] Thus, the school calendar remains unchanged?

[Answer] Not completely. The time of final examinations in the winter session has been changed. Thus, in the secondary vocational schools for unemployed youth, the Polish language examination will be held on 1 February at 8 am, and the mathematics examination, on 2 February at the same time. Didactic lessons in these schools in diploma classes will conclude on 18 January. However, in the secondary schools for working youth (evening students and nonresident students), the final examination in Polish language will be held on 1 February at 3 pm, and the final examination in mathematics, the following day, also at 3 pm.

[Question] It is the obligation of the schools to care for the safety and health of its pupils; are there some other teachings regarding this matter?

[Answer] All student youth will be familiarized with the principles of conduct under state martial law. Even the youngest students should know what it means to act and behave safely both for their own sake and the sake of their surroundings. After all, we are jointly accountable for the moral and physical health of our pupils, and when they find themselves under our direct care, that responsibility has to be a special one.

[Question] How will the nutrition and supplemental nutrition of pupils operate at present?

[Answer] We take the position that in each school, regardless of the particular circumstances, there are possibilities for assuring all pupils at least a glass of hot milk or another beverage. The school cafeterias will continue to function in accordance with the same principles as before. On account of general supply difficulties, however, the ministry is counting very much on the help of the council committees and the administrative authorities in the purchase of indispensable foodstuffs for school cafeterias.

[Question] What will the fate be of school youth organizations?

[Answer] The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) and agitprop and social organizations which have been allowed to operate in the schools under martial law will continue to function. All activities--this includes circles of interests and sports clubs--have to take place under the educational tutelage of the teacher. Student self-government also will operate on similar principles.

[Question] The school is the organizer of many massive shows; will they be cancelled?

[Answer] In accordance with the decree on martial law, voivodship shows, inter-voivodship shows, or international shows devoted to sports, the arts, etc cannot take place. The exceptions are competitions and subject Olympics and the Young Masters of Technology Competition.

Social discipline is always necessary, and under conditions of martial law it becomes especially important. I am convinced that the teachers will understand this, all the more that harmony and order are immanent features of their profession. Of course, the directors bear the responsibility for the work of the schools. I mentioned the special powers they have received. The efficient functioning of the educational post: depends not only on the leadership, however, but on all employees. They have to make allowance for the possibility that their superiors will give them additional tasks unforeseen as part of their official duties, that are justified by unusual circumstances. I believe that they will accept these additional duties and will fulfill them well.

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RESPONSE TO MINISTER OF HEALTH APPEAL NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Students and Pupils of Secondary Medical Schools Responded to the Appeal of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare"]

[Text] [Polish Press] In connection with the appeal of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare to students and pupils of secondary medical schools--which we printed yesterday--we have been informed of the thanks given by the Minister to everyone who responded to this appeal. The contents of this thank you are printed below.

Minister of Health and Social Welfare Tadeusz Szelachowski expresses sincere thanks to all students of the Academy of Medicine and pupils of the older classes of the secondary medical schools who, responding to his appeal made yesterday, hurried en masse to make offers to accept work in designated positions in health and social welfare service posts.

This fact attests clearly to the deep understanding of the situation in Poland and of the needs of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare service resulting from this situation. It also affirms the unchanging conviction of the leadership of this Ministry concerning all health service workers' deep feeling of responsibility and readiness to immediately bring aid wherever it is needed the most.

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APPEAL OF SCOUT UNION SUPREME COUNCIL NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Appeal of the Supreme Council (RN) of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP)"]

[Text] Assembled for its session in Bydgoszcz, the RN of the ZHP took note of premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech with deep emotion:

"Conscious of the burden of responsibility which the Premier-General has had to shoulder, of the great trial which lies in store for our Homeland, and loyal to the promise and right of scouting and to our principles, according to which the welfare of the People's Republic is the highest right, we appeal to all scouting instructors to discharge their full civic responsibility."

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DECREE ON MARTIAL LAW PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 309-317 Item 154

[Decree on Martial Law of 12 December 1981]

[Text] Guided by the need to provide for the greater protection of the fundamental interests of the State and its citizens, with a view to establishing conditions conducive to the effective defense of the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Peoples Republic and its public tranquillity and law and order, as well as bearing in mind the need to insure the efficient performance of organs of state authority and public administration during a state of martial law, and pursuant to article 33, section 2 of the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic, the Council of State resolves as follows:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1.1. Martial law is to be declared on parts of or throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic insofar as this is required for reasons of the national defense or security.

2. Martial law is to be declared throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic for reasons of the national defense in the event of a threatened violation of the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Peoples Republic or for reasons of national security in the event of a serious threat to or actual disruption of the country's public tranquillity and law and order.

3. Martial law is to be declared on parts of the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic for reasons of national security within the boundaries of one or several provinces, cities, or townships (city-township conurbations) in the event of a serious threat to or actual disruption of the public tranquillity and law and order within a given jurisdiction.

Article 2.1. Martial law is to be declared by way of a resolution of the Council of State which specifies jurisdictions affected, dates, and the reasons for which martial law has been declared. Martial law is to be repealed in accordance with the same procedure.

2. A resolution on the declaration and repeal of martial law must be promulgated in *DZIENNIK USTAW* of the Polish Peoples Republic and it must also be publicized in the mass media.

Article 3.1. The Chairman of the Council of State will issue a proclamation on the declaration of martial law and on the consequences arising from its declaration with regard to the rights and duties of citizens.

2. The provincial governors [*wojewodowie*] within whose jurisdictions martial law has been declared are to make provisions for the posting of the proclamations referred to in section 1 as well as for informing the public of the contents of this proclamation and other information pertaining to martial law through regional mass media, public radio broadcasting centers, loudspeaker systems and closed-circuit plant radio networks, or in other customarily accepted ways in their jurisdictions.

Article 4. 1. The declaration of martial law gives rise to the temporary:

1) suspension or curtailment of fundamental civil rights as set forth in the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic and in other statutes as well as in international agreements to which the Polish Peoples Republic is a party, to wit: habeas corpus [*nietykalność osobista*] (article 87, section 1 of the Constitution), unlawful search and seizure of private dwellings and postal privacy (article 87, section 2 of the Constitution), freedom of association (article 84, section 1 of the Constitution), freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and the freedom to hold rallies, marches, and demonstrations (article 81, paragraph 1 of the Constitution);

2) enactment of amendments to the labor code;

3) imposition of special duties on private citizens and organizational entities which are not part of the socialized sector of the economy;

4) subordination of the activities of all organs of state power and public administration, organizational entities belonging to the socialized sector of the economy, and social organizations to the interests of the state and nation;

5) establishment of special accountability on the part of private citizens, also including public officials, for failure to obey the law and for the unscrupulous performance of duties to the state

—within bounds and in accordance with rules set forth in this decree and in other legal statutes pertaining to martial law.

2. The declaration of martial law also gives rise to the duty whereby Polish citizens are called upon to discharge their universal military service obligations, as set forth in the provisions of the Law on Universal Military Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic and in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council of State on the declaration of martial law.

Article 5. 1. A declaration of martial law, while it remains in force, engenders consequences as set forth in this decree and in other legal statutes pertaining to martial law that apply to all Polish citizens residing within the boundaries of national administrative subdivisions in which martial law has been declared and to their property situated within these boundaries.

2. A declaration of martial law, while it remains in force, also engenders consequences as set forth in this decree and in other legal statutes pertaining to martial law that apply to foreign nationals residing within the boundaries of national administrative subdivisions in which martial law has been declared and also to their property situated within these boundaries and the property of other physical and legal persons residing (headquartered) abroad unless otherwise provided for by the stipulations of this decree, other laws, international agreements to which the Polish Peoples Republic is a party, or universally recognized international customs and practices under terms of reciprocity.

Article 6. 1. For as long as martial law shall remain in force the Council of Ministers may pass necessary resolutions with a view to the defense of law and order, national interests, and the rights of private citizens.

2. For as long as martial law shall remain in force and pursuant to the resolutions referred to in section 1 or acting on their own initiative in matters not regulated by legal statutes the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and provincial governors may issue necessary law enforcement directives with a view to the defense of public tranquillity and law and order.

3. Provincial governors may also issue law enforcement directives in matters falling within the purview of (corresponding) provincial peoples councils, with the exception of those matters pertaining to local socioeconomic development plans and local budgets.

Article 7. 1. In time of war certain areas of the Polish Peoples Republic may be designated by the Council of State as war zones.

2. The boundaries of war zones and the rules according to which state organs are to discharge their duties within these zones are to be determined by the Council of State at the instance of the Minister of National Defense.

3. In the event that governmental agencies are not functioning in war zones, their duties are to be discharged by military organs designated by the Minister of National Defense.

## Chapter II

### Rights and Duties of Citizens During a State of Martial Law

Article 8. 1. Appropriate governmental agencies may, if so required by interests of the national security and defense, impose restrictions on the freedom of personal movement consisting in directives enjoining or prohibiting residence in or departure from designated localities, installations, and areas ("curfews").

2. In matters referred to in section 1 directives will be issued by:

- 1) the Minister of Internal Affairs insofar as the area affected by such an injunction or prohibition encompasses the entire national territory or the jurisdictions of several provinces,
- 2) a provincial governor insofar as the area affected by such an injunction or prohibition encompasses the jurisdiction of an entire province or one or more cities or townships (city-township conurbations) situated within the boundaries of such a province.

3. In the directives referred to in section 2 appropriate governmental agencies are to specify the localities, installations, or jurisdictions affected by such injunctions or prohibitions, the period of time for which they will remain in force, and the categories of persons exempted from such injunctions and prohibitions.

Article 9. All persons present in public places are required to have in their possession a document attesting to their identity, whereas school pupils over the age of 13 are required to have in their possession a school identification card or a temporary personal identification document.

Article 10.1. The Minister of Internal Affairs may, by way of executive order, require citizens:

- 1) to obtain permits in advance for a change of permanent or temporary residence based on relocation to another locality;
- 2) to register with local authorities within 12 hours of their arrival in a given locality.

2. The permits referred to in section 1, item 1 will be issued by the local chief executive public official [naczelnik] with jurisdiction over the current place of permanent or temporary residence of persons who intend to change their places of residence insofar as such a change of residence does not pose a threat to interests of the national security or defense.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs is to determine, by way of executive order, the rules and procedures for handling matters referred to in section 1 and he may also exempt certain categories of persons from these requirements.

Article 11.1. In order to take up permanent residence in a border zone if it is necessary to obtain a permit in advance from the appropriate local chief executive public official [naczelnik], whereas in order to take up temporary residence in a border zone it is necessary to obtain a permit in advance from the local Citizens Militia commandant (precinct station chief) with jurisdiction over the proposed place of permanent or temporary residence of the person who is relocating to a border zone.

2. In matters referred to in section 1 laws governing domicile and residence in border zones are to be duly enforced in conjunction with the enforcement of amendments thereto arising out of the provisions of section 1.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs may, by way of executive order, exempt certain categories of persons from the requirement of obtaining permits for permanent or temporary residence in border zones.

Article 12. Private travel and the pursuit of sailing and rowing sports in maritime interior and open-sea territorial waters is prohibited.

Article 13. 1. Permits must be obtained in advance from appropriate governmental agencies in order to organize and conduct any type of public assembly as well as in order to organize and put on public artistic, entertainment, and athletic events and public gatherings.

2. The provisions of section 1 do not apply to the worship services and ceremonies of churches and religious associations or to public gatherings held for religious purposes that take place (are conducted) on the premises of churches, chapels, and houses of worship used exclusively for these purposes.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs will, by way of executive order, lay down the general rules that are to govern the fulfillment of the duties referred to in section 1 and he may partially or totally exempt certain types of assemblies, public artistic, entertainment, and athletic events and public gatherings from the requirement of having to obtain advance permits.

4. Appropriate governmental agencies will refuse to issue permits referred to in section 1 insofar as the convening and holding of a public assembly or the organization and conduct of public events and gatherings would pose a threat to the interests of the national security or defense.

5. The issuance of permits for the holding of public assemblies, the organization of public artistic, entertainment, and athletic events, and the conduct of public gatherings is to take place wherever appropriate in accordance with procedures set forth in laws on public assemblies, public artistic, entertainment, and athletic programs, and public gatherings.

Article 14.1. The right to strike and hold protest demonstrations is suspended.

2. Participation in a strike constitutes a grave violation on the part of an employee or fundamental employee duties and the act of organizing or leading a strike or protest demonstration may be deemed to be acts conducive to serious dislocations in the performance of the national economy.

Article 15.1. Insofar as the activities of a society, trade union, association, or social or professional organization shall prove to be detrimental to the political and social order or to the legal system of the Polish Peoples Republic or insofar as they pose a threat in any other way to the interests of the national security or defense, as well as for other important reasons, such activities may be suspended by:

1) The chairman of the Council of Ministers--with regard to public service societies, trade unions, associations, and social and professional organizations;

2) provincial governors--with regard to registered and customary societies, associations, and social and professional organizations whose ranges of activities are confined to the jurisdiction of a given province.

2. The provisions of section 1 do not apply to churches and religious associations.

3. In suspending the activities of a society, trade union, association, or organization the authorities referred to in section 1 will determine the procedures that are to be followed in disposing of its assets.

**Article 16.** The activities of workers self-management bodies in government enterprises (establishments) are suspended within limits to be determined by the Council of Ministers by way of executive order.

**Article 17.1.** It is necessary to obtain permits in advance from authorities responsible for the control of publications and public performances in order to disseminate publications or stage public performances by printed, visual, or oral means, with the exception of those publications and public performances specified in article 4, section 1, items 1-7, 10, 12, 15, 18, 20, and 21 of the Law on the Control of Publications and Public Performances dated 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, entry 99).

2. The operation of printing plants, equipment and apparatuses for the production of printed and illustrated matter by any means, and plants for the production of seals and stamps in the possession of:

1) physical persons, societies, associations, trade unions, social and professional organizations--is prohibited;

2) governmental and cooperative organizational entities--is permitted solely with the written permission and under the supervision of the minister (head of a central office or institution), chairman of the central board of a cooperative association, or provincial governor to which a given entity is directly or indirectly accountable.

3. The chairman of the Main Council for the Control of Publications and Public Performances, acting with the consent of the Chairman of the Council of State and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, will lay down, by way of directive, the rules and procedures that are to govern the issuance of permits and the handling of matters referred to in sections 1 and 2, and he may also exempt, partially or totally, certain publications and public performances and plants, equipment, and apparatuses referred to in section 2, item 2 from the requirement of having to obtain permits.

4. Authorities responsible for the control of publications and public performances are not to issue permits referred to in section 1 insofar as the dissemination of publications and public performances or the operation of a plant or equipment would pose a threat to the interest of the national security or defense.

Article 18.1. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, institute the practice of censoring mail and telecommunications correspondence and monitoring telephone conversations, while at the same time identifying the censorship agencies which are to have jurisdiction over these matters.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs, acting in consultation with the Minister of Communications, will establish authorities responsible for the censorship of communications traffic, while the Minister of National Defense will establish authorities responsible for military censorship. The scope of and the rules governing the activities of censorship authorities will be determined by the ministers of Internal Affairs and National Defense, each acting within the limits of their respective jurisdictions and jointly with the Minister of Communications.

3. Censorship authorities are authorized to withhold entirely or in part the delivery of mail and telecommunications correspondence and to interrupt telephone conversations insofar as their subject matter may pose a threat to the interests of the national security or defense. The decisions of censorship authorities in these matters are final and not subject to appeal.

4. Withheld mail and telecommunications correspondence are subject to forfeiture to the State Treasury without right of compensation.

Article 19.1. Owners of radio transmitter and transceiver devices may be compelled, insofar as such action is required in the interests of the national security or defense, to surrender these devices for safekeeping.

2. The rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in section 1 are to be determined by the Council of Ministers by way of executive order.

Article 20. Provincial governors may prohibit the taking of photographs and the filming or televising of certain installations and localities or in designated areas insofar as such action is required in the interests of the national security or defense.

Article 21.1. Owners of small-caliber firearms and hunting and sports weapons and also persons in possession of ammunition and explosive materials may be compelled, insofar as such action is required in the interests of the national defense or security, to surrender these weapons, ammunition, and explosive materials for safekeeping.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs shall determine by way of executive order the rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in section 1, and he may as a part of this process also prohibit the bearing of all types of weapons and other objects and implements whose use may pose a threat to public law and order.

Article 22. The Minister of Internal Affairs may prohibit the wearing of certain badges and uniforms insofar as such action shall be required in the interests of the national security or defense.

### Chapter III

#### Rules of Procedure in Emergency Situations Affecting the National Defense and Security

**Article 23.** Emergency situations as defined by this decree refer to incidents which:

- 1) place the life, health, or liberty of citizens in general danger;
- 2) pose a direct and significant threat to public, private, or personal property;
- 3) pose a threat to installations important to the national defense or security;
- 4) pose a direct threat to or involve the occupation of government buildings or the buildings of political and social organizations as well as important installations and facilities of the national economy.

**Article 24.1.** Acting in conformity with prevailing laws, it is the responsibility of the Citizens Militia to make provisions for the public safety in emergency situations.

2. In emergency situations, whenever the services of the Citizens Militia shall prove to be inadequate, units and subunits of other formations and organizations created for the purpose of defending public law and order and public property and also the armed forces may be called upon to render assistance.

**Article 25.1.** Elite units and subunits of the Citizens Militia and other formations and organizations created for the purpose of defending public law and order and public property are sent into action in emergency situations on the basis of a decision made by the provincial commandant of the Citizens Militia after having obtained the prior consent of the chairman of the provincial defense committee.

2. Units and subunits of the armed forces are sent into action in emergency situations at the instance of the chairman of the provincial defense committee, on the basis of a decision made by the military district commander, and after having obtained the prior consent of the Minister of National Defense.

**Article 26.1.** Direct coercive measures may be applied in emergency situations, including the use of disabling chemical agents, high-pressure water spraying devices, and also, in exceptional cases where it is not otherwise possible to avert the danger, threat, or actually attempted use of force, firearms.

2. In emergency situations disabling chemical agents and high-pressure water spraying devices are employed on the basis of a decision made by a provincial commandant of the Citizens Militia and, with reference to the armed forces, on the basis of a decision made by a military district commander.

3. The use of firearms by elite units and subunits takes place on the basis of a decision made by the Minister of Internal Affairs and, with reference to the armed forces, on the basis of a decision made by the Minister of National Defense. In order to make such decisions it is necessary to obtain the prior consent of the Chairman of the National Defense Committee.

4. In cases where any and all hesitation would pose the threat of placing the lives and health of individuals or public property in direct and significant danger the decisions referred to in sections 2 and 3 are to be made by unit or subunit commanders who are required to immediately inform their superior officers of incidents in which such means are employed.

5. In the case of forces which are subordinate to the Minister of Internal Affairs as specified in sections 2 and 3 and in article 25, section 2 the powers of the military district commander and the Minister of National Defense are to be exercised accordingly by the appropriate commander of these forces and by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 27.1. In emergency situations the use of direct coercive measures and firearms by officers of the Citizens Militia, employees (members) of formations (organizations) created for the purpose of defending public law and order or public property and by regular soldiers takes place in accordance with rules set forth in prevailing laws governing conduct involving the use of these measures and weapons.

2. The detailed rules and procedures governing the use of elite units and subunits and the use of direct coercive measures and firearms by these units and subunits in emergency situations are to be determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of National Defense.

Article 28.1. During a state of martial law formations and organizations created for the purpose of defending public law and order or public property, with the exception of the armed forces, are subordinate in operational matters to the Minister of Internal Affairs and to agencies of the Citizens Militia, regardless of any other hierarchical subordination of these formations and organizations.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs may direct that members of the Citizens Militia Volunteer Reserve and other formations and organizations created for the purpose of defending public law and order and public property should be equipped with means for applying direct coercive measures and also, in especially warranted cases, with firearms.

3. The Council of Ministers is to determine the powers of the Minister of Internal Affairs with respect to the formations and organizations mentioned in section 1, and it will also lay down the rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in section 2, as well as the rules governing the use of direct coercive measures and firearms by employees (members) of these formations and organizations.

## Chapter IV

### Functions of Governmental and Economic Institutions During a State of Martial Law

Article 29.1. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, declare it to be a general duty that work should be performed by all persons who are over 15 years of age and have not yet reached retirement age as defined in laws on retirement benefits and who are capable of holding jobs from the standpoint of their states of health and personal and family circumstances. In the case of employed persons this duty applies to the types and conditions of work as set forth in their existing employment contracts and in the provisions of the labor code, whereas, in the case of persons who are not employed in a workplace or who are employed in a nonpublic sector workplace engaged in activities that are not essential to the public interest, the performance of this duty consists in filing an application at a time and place to be made public by a local chief executive public official [naczelnik] with jurisdiction over an applicant's place of permanent residence for the purpose of obtaining a referral to a public-sector workplace and in accepting and performing work of a designated type on behalf of a workplace specified in the issued referral and under terms set forth in this referral and in the provisions of the labor code.

2. Local chief executive public officials [naczelnik] with jurisdiction over the main office of a workplace may transfer employees to other workplaces located within their jurisdictions, and the directors of workplaces may order employees to perform additional duties and assign them to a different type of job in the same locality or in a different locality, even where employees do not give their consent to this, insofar as such employees possess the requisite qualifications for such work and their states of health and personal and family circumstances do not prevent compliance with such orders.

3. Employees are entitled to file appeals against the rulings referred to in section 2, acting within 3 days of the date on which they are advised of such rulings, with a labor relations appeal commission. The filing of such an appeal does not stay the execution of such rulings.

4. An employee is required to put in a 6-day work week. In cases where a workplace is mandated to perform special tasks the workplace director may require employees to report for work on legally recognized days off on the condition that employees reporting to work on an extended working schedule are entitled to 1 day off per month.

5. Regular daily working hours may not exceed 8 hours per day. In the event that a workplace is mandated to perform special tasks, the workplace director may extend working hours to 12 hours per day with the exception of working hours put in on legally recognized days off and with the exception of workers employed in jobs that are especially strenuous or that are performed under conditions deemed to be hazardous to health.

6. Work performed during extended working hours qualifies as overtime work.

7. An employee is entitled to paid vacation time which is earned at the rate of 1 day for each month worked. Youths and workers employed in jobs that are

especially strenuous or in jobs performed under conditions that are deemed to be hazardous to health are entitled to 1 extra day of paid vacation time for each 3 months worked. An employee who has performed work during extended working hours is entitled to 1 extra day of paid vacation time for every month worked on a schedule of extended working hours. The practice of allowing the taking of unpaid vacations and special leaves of absence is suspended.

8. The Council of Ministers is to lay down, by way of executive order, the rules that are to govern the enforcement of the provisions of sections 2-7 and identify those categories of persons who are not subject to the general duty to perform gainful employment, and it may also issue regulations governing labor relations, the delivery of social insurance benefits, and the social and human services activities of workplaces conducted on behalf of their employees in a manner that deviates from the provisions of the labor code.

Article 30.1. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, compel physical and legal persons who own farms to render special services on behalf of the nation's food economy consisting in:

- 1) deliveries of certain agricultural products to the state,
- 2) the cultivation of certain types of field crops,
- 3) the utilization of farmlands and agricultural equipment and installations for purposes of agricultural production,

and it may also impose restrictions on the sale and processing of certain agricultural products.

2. Pursuant to a lawful order issued by an appropriate governmental agency, the services referred to in section 1, items 1 and 2, in the event that they are not performed, are subject to compulsory execution by administrative decree.

3. Farms, farmlands, and agricultural equipment and installations which are not used for purposes of agricultural production and pursuant to an order issued by an appropriate government agency are subject to temporary conveyance without rental compensation to other physical or legal persons who will see to it that such assets are put to proper use.

4. The Council of Ministers is to determine, by way of executive order, the scope of the services referred to in section 1 and the rules and procedures that are to govern their performance as well as the rules governing the compulsory rendering of these services by administrative means.

Article 31.1. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, establish a system for the total or partial rationing of basic foodstuffs and certain nonfood items supplied to the general public.

2. The Minister of Domestic Trade and Services, acting in consultation with an appropriate government minister and with reference to the entire national territory, and provincial governors, acting within the boundaries of their respective national administrative subdivisions, may in warranted cases restrict or suspend

the sale of articles not covered by supply rationing regulations, and they may also restrict or suspend the delivery of certain types of human services by public-sector or nonpublic sector service establishments.

3. The Council of Ministers is to determine, by way of executive order, the scope of and the rules governing the operation of a consumer goods rationing system.

Article 32.1. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, acquire leases on premises and buildings on the basis of an administrative space allocation order that applies to all premises and buildings.

2. In cases warranted by necessity of providing housing for persons who have lost their homes as a result of acts of war a local chief executive public officials [naczelnik] may allocate a housing unit abandoned by a tenant, housing cooperative member, or owner, just as they may also lodge such persons in a part of a housing unit that qualifies as surplus living space which exceeds prevailing norms and which is comprised of at least one room.

3. In cases warranted by special economic or social considerations local chief executive public officials [naczelnik] may issue orders calling for the vacation of all or a part of the business premises occupied by an office or government institution or by a public-sector economic entity without making any simultaneous provisions for the allocation of alternative premises and they may assign the vacated premises to other occupants.

4. Real property held to be essential to the national defense or to the performance of important social and economic tasks may be expropriated.

5. The Council of Ministers is to determine, by way of executive order, the rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in sections 1-4, and it is to ascertain the standard that is to apply to the unit of living space to which an individual is entitled on the condition that this standard unit is no less than 5 square meters. Regulations issued by the Council of Ministers may govern the disposition of leasehold and expropriation matters in a manner that departs from the provisions of the housing and civil codes.

Article 33. The Council of Ministers is authorized to make necessary changes by way of executive order in the scope of and in the rules governing:

1) the establishment, fulfillment, and termination of tax liabilities and the compulsory fulfillment of tax liabilities;

2) the accumulation of cash funds, monetary transactions and the performance of financial services, and the issuance of loans;

3) mandatory and voluntary property and life insurance policies

--with respect to physical persons, legal persons which are not public-sector economic entities, and other nonpublic sector organizational entities which are not recognized by law.

Article 34. If as a result of disruptions caused by acts of war it is not possible to keep records of vital statistics in accordance with procedures set forth in the provisions of the Law on Vital Statistics Records and the Family and Child Welfare Code, the reporting of births, the filing of christening certificates, the recording marriages, and the reporting of deaths may take place in accordance with rules of simplified rules to be determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs, acting in consultation with the Minister of Justice, by way of executive order.

Article 35. The Council of Ministers may, by way of executive order, partially or totally suspend and restrict the operation of certain communications facilities and the delivery of postal and telecommunications services.

Article 36. The Minister of Transportation may impose a total or partial ban or restrictions on the conveyance of persons and things via road, rail, air, and water transportation systems, and he may also direct that certain conditions should be met when accepting parcels for shipment.

Article 37. The Minister of National Defense may impose a partial or total ban or restrictions on flights by Polish and foreign air carriers in air space over the land areas, interior maritime waters, and open-sea territorial waters of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Article 38.1. The Minister of Transportation may impose a partial or total ban or restrictions on railroad rolling stock traffic, the traffic of express and express-local passenger trains, and also on the traffic of Polish and foreign vessels sailing inland waterways.

2. The Minister-Head of the Merchant Marine Office may impose a partial or total ban or restrictions on the traffic of Polish and foreign vessels sailing in interior maritime waters and in open-sea territorial waters.

3. With reference to the entire national territory or the territories of several continuous provinces the Minister of Transportation and, acting with the boundaries of their respective national administrative subdivisions of jurisdiction, provincial governors may impose partial or total bans or restrictions on the traffic of motor vehicles on public roads.

Article 39.1. The Minister of Internal Affairs may partially or totally shut down and restrict cross-border passenger and commercial traffic.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs, acting in consultation with the Minister of National Defense, may, by way of executive order, lay down the rules that are to govern the issuance of papers authorizing foreign nationals to cross the Polish border, rules governing their residence on Polish territory, and rules governing dealings with foreign diplomatic envoys accredited to the Polish Peoples Republic and with other persons enjoying equivalent status pursuant to laws, international agreements to which the Polish Peoples Republic is a party, or universally recognized international customs and practices.

3. The Council of Ministers is to determine, by way of executive order, the rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in section 1 and also the powers and duties of commissioners.

Article 41.1. The road, rail, air, and waterborne transport vehicles of countries against which a declaration of war has been made that are located on the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic are subject to seizure or requisitioning.

2. The rules and procedures that are to govern the handling of matters referred to in section 1 are to be determined by way of executive order by the Minister of Foreign Affairs acting in consultation with the Minister of Transportation and the Minister-Head of the Office of the Merchant Marine.

## Chapter V

### Preventive Measures

Article 42.1. Polish citizens over the age of 17 in reference to whom a reasonable suspicion exists, based on their past conduct, that were they to remain at liberty they would disobey the law and engage in activities prejudicial to the interests of the national security or defense may be interned for the duration of a state of martial law in isolation centers. These provisions do not violate the rights of immunity arising out of the provisions of special laws.

2. The provisions of section 1 also apply to citizens of countries against which a declaration of war has been made as well as to the citizens of other countries and stateless persons. However, the chiefs and officers of foreign diplomatic missions and consular offices and other persons of equivalent status, pursuant to the provisions of laws, international agreements to which the Polish Peoples Republic is a party, and universally recognized international customs and practices--on the condition of reciprocity--are not subject to internment.

Article 43.1. Proceedings in internment cases are to be conducted *ex officio* and internment orders are to be issued by the provincial commandant of the Citizens Militia within whose jurisdiction a person who is the subject of such proceedings is residing or did reside before going into hiding.

2. Proceedings in internment cases may be conducted in the absence of the person who is a subject of such proceedings.

3. Internees are to be personally served with internment orders at the moment of their apprehension by officers of the Citizens Militia. An internment order is subject to immediate execution.

4. Internees have the right to file appeals against internment orders with the Minister of Internal Affairs, whereas foreign nationals may exercise the same right by filing appeals with the Appeals Commission for Matters Concerning the Internment of Foreign Nationals appointed by the Council of Ministers. The filing of an appeal does not stay the execution of an internment order.

5. An order of internment is rescinded while a state of martial law remains in force insofar as during this time the reasons for which an order of internment was issued cease to apply.

6. The detailed rules of procedure that are to govern the handling of internment cases and the organization, membership, and procedural practices of the Appeals Commission for Matters Concerning the Internment of Foreign Nationals are to be determined by the Council of Ministers by way of executive order.

**Article 44.** The Prosecutor General of the Polish Peoples Republic and the public prosecutors under his jurisdiction are to monitor compliance with the law in internment cases in accordance with the rules and procedures that govern prosecutorial monitoring of compliance with the law.

**Article 45.1.** The Minister of Justice, acting in consultation with the Minister of Internal Affairs, is to establish and disestablish isolation centers and, by way of executive order, is to determine the rules and regulations governing the stay of internees in these centers. The Minister of Justice has jurisdiction over isolation centers.

2. The provisions of the Penal Code that are enforceable with respect to penitentiary and temporary detention are to be applied accordingly to terms of internment.

## Chapter VI

### Penal Provisions

**Article 46.1.** A member of a society, trade union, association, or organization whose activities have been suspended who has not desisted from taking part in such activities is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 3 years.

2. Anyone who organizes or leads a strike or protest demonstration is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years.

3. Whoever takes or uses a motor vehicle with the intent of using such a vehicle to conduct a strike or protest demonstration is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 3 years.

4. Insofar as the motor vehicle specified in section 3 is public property the perpetrator is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years and the assessment of a fine.

5. Whoever with the intent of conducting a strike or protest demonstration or while such a strike or demonstration is in progress compels another person by means of force, unlawful threats, or deceit to desist from the acceptance or performance of work is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years.

6. Whoever with the intent of conducting a strike or protest demonstration destroys, damages, or incapacitates a plant or piece of equipment or hinders the proper functioning of plants, pieces of equipment, or institutions is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 10 years and the assessment of a fine.

7. A court may show special leniency in handing down a sentence or it may suspend a sentence handed down against the perpetrator of an offense specified in sections 1 and 2 who voluntarily desisted from taking part in activities, a strike, or protest demonstration and tried to persuade persons who persisted in taking part in activities, a strike, or protest demonstration to do the same.

Article 47.1. Whoever takes actions that give aid and comfort to an enemy or are detrimental to the security and defense interests of the Polish Peoples Republic or to an allied country is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of no less than 3 years.

2. The provisions of section 1 do not apply in cases where a given action bears all of the attributes of another offense.

Article 48.1. Whoever with the intent of degrading the defense preparedness of the Polish Peoples Republic disseminates information that might have the result of degrading this preparedness is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 8 years.

2. Whoever disseminates false information, insofar as this may cause public unrest or disturbances, is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of from 6 months to 3 years.

3. Whoever prepares, collects, stores, transports, conveys, or sends a message, printed matter, a recording, or film containing information as specified in sections 1 and 2 with the intent of disseminating said information is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years.

4. Whoever commits an act specified in sections 1 or 2 by using printed matter or other means of mass communication is liable to the penalty of imprisonment for a term of up to 10 years.

5. The provisions of article 256 of the Penal Code are to be enforced accordingly with respect to offenses specified in sections 1-3.

6. In the event that convictions are obtained for offenses specified in sections 1-3 a court may order the confiscation of implements and other objects which were used or which were intended for use in the commission of such offenses regardless of whether or not they are the personal property of the perpetrator.

Article 49.1. The provisions of article 256 and article 257 of the Penal Code are also to be enforced with respect to persons interned in isolation centers.

2. Offenses specified in article 271, section 1, article 282, and article 287 of the Penal Code are punishable solely by imprisonment for terms of up to 5 years.

3. In the event that a conviction is obtained for an offense committed for malicious motives during a state of martial law a court may order forfeiture of civil rights and it may also order the partial or total confiscation of property.

Article 50.1. Whoever takes part in a strike or protest demonstration is liable to the penalty of detention ["areszt" or "aresztowanie tymczasowe"; temporary or preventive detention--under Polish law a form of lawful custody in which persons may be held for preventive, investigative, or punitive reasons for a maximum term of 3 months without benefit of a formal criminal indictment heard before a court of law] for a term of up to 3 months or to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys. The provisions of article 46, section 7 are to be enforced accordingly.

2. Whoever changes their place of permanent or temporary residence or resides in a border zone without the requisite permit or in a manner that violates the terms of such a permit is liable to the penalty of detention [areszt] for a term of up to 3 months or the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

3. Whoever violates restrictions currently in force on the freedom of personal movement is liable to the penalty of detention for a term of up to 1 month or the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

4. Whoever engages in private travel or sailing or rowing sports in interior or open-sea territorial maritime waters is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

5. Whoever is present in a public place and is found not to have in their possession a document attesting to their identity (a school identification card) is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 500 zlotys.

6. Whoever takes still photographs or films or televises prohibited installations or places or in prohibited areas is liable to the penalty of detention [areszt] for a term of up to 3 months or the assessment of fine of up to 5,000 zlotys. The provisions of article 48, section 6 are to be enforced accordingly.

7. Whoever contrary to a ban or restrictions currently in force transports persons or things or accepts parcels for transport without meeting required conditions is liable to the penalty of detention [areszt] for a term of up to 3 months or the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

8. Whoever contrary to a ban or restrictions currently in force makes flights in aircraft in Polish air space, travels in navigable craft along inland waterways, in maritime interior waters, or in open-sea territorial waters, operates rolling stock or common carrier rail transportation systems, or operates a motor vehicle on public roads is liable to the penalty of detention for a term of up to 3 months or the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

Article 51.1. Whoever contrary to the general duty to perform gainful employment in the absence of valid reasons does not file an application at a designated time and place for the purpose of obtaining a referral to a public-sector workplace or does not accept employment in conformity with a referral that has been issued is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

2. Whoever contrary to the general duty to perform gainful employment in the absence of valid reasons evades the performance of gainful employment under terms set forth in a valid employment contract and in the provisions of the

labor code, evades the performance of assigned job duties or assigned employment, or refuses to heed an order to transfer to another workplace is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

3. Whoever fails to use farmlands, agricultural implements or agricultural installations for purposes of agricultural production or whoever having been mandated to do so evades the cultivation of certain types of field crops or the fulfillment of deliveries of certain agricultural products to the state is liable to the penalty of detention [areszt] for a term of up to 3 months and to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

4. Whoever hinders or prevents the performance of duties relative to the cultivation of certain types of field crops or the fulfillment of deliveries of certain agricultural products to the state by a person required to do so is liable to the penalty of detention for a term of up to 3 months and the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

5. Whoever trafficks in or processes certain agricultural products contrary to restrictions currently in force is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

6. Whoever violates rules governing the rationing of goods supplied to the general public is liable to the penalty of detention for a term of up to 3 months and the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

7. Whoever prevents an authorized person from occupying an assigned unit of housing space or persistently interferes with the use of an assigned portion of a unit of housing space is liable to the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

Article 52. Misdemeanors specified in article 52, section 1, article 54, article 56, section 1, article 63, section 1, article 65, sections 1 and 2, article 66, section 1, article 67, section 1, article 68, sections 1 and 2 and article 147 of the Misdemeanors Code as well as in article 17 of the Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Public Performances (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, entry 99) are also punishable by the penalty of detention for a term of up to 3 months, whereas misdemeanors specified in article 54, article 61, section 1, article 66, section 1, article 118, section 1, article 122, section 2, and article 156, section 1 of the Misdemeanors Code are likewise punishable by the assessment of a fine of up to 5,000 zlotys.

## Chapter VII

### Transitional and Concluding Provisions

Article 53.1. During a state of martial law in matters involving private citizens that fall within the jurisdiction of government agencies, as referred to in chapters II and IV, and that are to be resolved by way of administrative order the affected party is not entitled to appeal such an order to a higher ranking governmental agency except insofar as a special provision of this decree or an act of law issued pursuant thereto stipulate otherwise.

2. Orders referred to in section 1 may not be appealed to a court of administrative law.

**Article 54.1.** Administrative proceedings in matters referred to in chapters II and IV that are instituted prior to the date on which martial law is declared are to be conducted thereafter in accordance with the provisions of this decree and acts of law issued pursuant thereto.

2. Administrative proceedings referred to in chapters II and IV that have not been terminated as of the date on which martial law is revoked are to be discontinued as of that date.

**Article 55.1.** Acts of law issued by government agencies pursuant to and for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of this decree and other statutes pertaining to martial law are to be promulgated and publicized in a manner which insures that the general public will be duly informed of their contents.

2. During a state of martial law law enforcement directives issued by provincial governors, pursuant to article 6, sections 2 and 3 of the decree or article 56 of the Law of 25 January 1958 on Peoples Councils (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1975, No 26, entry 139 together with subsequent amendments) and article 8, section 2 of the Law of 25 February 1964 on the Enactment of Laws by Peoples Councils (DZIENNIK USTAW No 8, entry 47 together with subsequent amendments), pertaining to the defense of national security or defense interests need not be submitted to an appropriate peoples council for ratification.

**Article 56.1.** The provisions of articles 8-33, articles 35-38, article 39, sections 1 and 2, article 40, article 42, section 1, and article 43-52 are to be enforced during a state of martial law with respect to the national defense or security, whereas the provisions of article 34, article 39, paragraph 3, article 41, and article 42, paragraph 2 are to be enforced only in time of war.

2. The provisions of this decree and acts of law issued pursuant thereto and other statutes pertaining to martial law are to be enforced during a state of martial law throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic or within the boundaries of national administrative subdivisions in which martial law has been declared in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council of State on the declaration of martial law.

**Article 57.1.** For as long as a state of martial law shall remain in force the legal force of all laws pertaining to matters regulated by this decree and by acts of law issued pursuant thereto is suspended insofar as these matters are governed differently by the provisions of this decree and acts of law issued with a view to the enforcement of these provisions.

2. Laws currently in force are to be enforced in matters not governed by this decree in conjunction with the enforcement of amendments to said laws arising out of the provisions of this decree and acts of law issued pursuant thereto.

3. Insofar as this decree provides for the enactment of special or enabling legislation, the provisions of existing laws together with amendments thereto arising out of the provisions of the decree are to be enforced until the date on which such legislative acts are passed.

**Article 58.** This decree does not violate the provisions of article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on Universal Military Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, entry 111).

**Article 59.** Whenever reference is made in this decree to:

- 1) provincial governors--it is understood that this is also a reference to the mayors of cities of provincial rank,
- 2) local chief executive public officials--it is understood that this is a reference to the mayors of capital cities and the local chief executive public officials of cities, urban precincts, townships, and city-township conurbations.

**Article 60.** Responsibility for the enforcement of this decree is delegated to the Council of Ministers, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Internal Affairs and other pertinent executive and central government agencies, the Prosecutor General of the Polish Peoples Republic, and also to local government agencies.

**Article 61.** This decree enters into force on the date of its promulgation and retroactively to the date of its adoption.

Chairman of the Council of State,  
H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State,  
E. Duda.

11813  
CSO: 2600/214

POLAND

ACTIVITIES OF TERRITORIAL OPERATIONAL GROUPS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24-27 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Janusz Borkowski, magister: "A Normal Day for Operational Groups--On Behalf of Social Need"]

[Text] Report: In the village of Grabowo, in Bialy Bór Gmina, a school building is deteriorating. The local authorities show no interest in the school's condition since the educational system was reformed.

The governor's decision: Comrade Sadkiewicz (school superintendent) is to survey the situation in the next 5 days and to make decisions relative to returning the building in use.

Report: A total of about 1,800 tons of grain is piled up in Wilczkowo and Przybrda State Farms (PGR). The grain is overgrown and constitutes a spontaneous combustion hazard.

The governor's decision: Director Piputa is to make an immediate inspection of the enterprises named and report his decisions without delay. The grain problem should be resolved immediately.

These examples were drawn from the report book of local operational groups working in the Koszalin Voivodship. They were recorded during the beginning phase of military group activities in early November. Several days later the military again made a review to determine what had been done to correct the situation. Some action had taken place with respect to the first situation--gmina authorities were regarding the deteriorating building more favorably. However, the next review of military recommendations, which had also been supported by the governor, disclosed that nothing had been done with the grain.

Restoring Respect for Work

How difficult it is to break a pattern of thinking and official indifference or to eliminate impracticable rules is known best by the chiefs of military operational groups in individual elements who now are National Defense Committee (KOK) commissioners with full powers to act in particular elements of state and economic administration. What they have already encountered, and are experiencing, arouses their greatest astonishment and indignation. Being accustomed over the

years to discharging their responsibilities honestly, they cannot comprehend how it was possible to lose respect for human endeavor and to defer vital public interests for which government offices are unceasingly responsible.

"I review various reports, I listen to people's complaints and my blood boils. How many matters now entrusted to us could have been taken care of out of hand earlier without a superfluous bureaucracy," says Maj Ryszard Frysztacki, whose group is operating in the Opole Voivodship.

It is precisely in bureaucratic paperwork and the abysmal files of various offices that public affairs were lost. This kind of action must have evoked an unfavorable attitude toward authority. To a conscientious citizen, honestly employed peasant or worker, both gmina and rural commune cooperative authority frequently manifested itself as a corrupt clique concerned solely with its own and distant relatives' interests. In order to get anything done, even the simplest matter, the proverbial half-liter or bribe was often required. It was accepted unceremoniously by those who drew a salary for discharging their responsibilities. Honest citizens performing their daily duties under difficult conditions were powerless and did not even try to present their problems to the local authorities, assuming beforehand that their requests for adjustment would be denied.

It is not possible, of course, to extend this judgment to every representative of management and administration on the basis of the results of our experience. Most did not spare efforts to cope with the problems presented to them. "However, they did not always operate effectively in all cases. We and our colleagues examined most carefully all of the information given to us by the public relative to illegal conduct in the functioning of authority elements. Unfortunately, many of these accusations were confirmed. We had to act decisively in such cases and consistently eliminate all lawlessness and failure to discharge responsibilities," explains Maj Ryszard Szyngelski, operating in the Skrwilno Gmina of the Wloclaw Voivodship.

As the result of many conversations with the commanders of military operational groups and KDK plenipotentiaries, it was possible to draw one conclusion. Poland's difficult socio-economic situation was brought about in large measure by failure to discharge job responsibilities, a scornful attitude toward daily tasks by some groups of officials, directors, managers and rank-and-file workers in government, trades and factories. As the soldiers say, beside resolving systems-type problems and individual problems presented by citizens, their chief task is the restoration of respect for human endeavor.

#### In the Sphere of Gmina Reality

How should that be accomplished? Does the military have a patent on resolving all afflictions ranking our society? The answers to these questions appear to be simple but also unusually complicated.

"In my opinion," says Maj Jan Szmilew, stationed in Darlowo gmina, "it is necessary to define the meaning of current concepts. Let us begin with authority and who represents it. In doing my work I frequently hear: 'Major, the authorities did not take care of the problem, the authorities cheated me,

the authorities are corrupt.' Who are the authorities for a peasant who comes to a soldier with a request for help? Does he have in mind the Sejm, the government, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)? No, he is concerned with a specific official, director or manager of the agricultural service and so on. Therefore, it is necessary to regulate their activity and to channel it to citizen needs. However, their actions form opinions about the entire structure of the state's authorities."

Cap Jan Mironiuk, who works in the Siedlce and the Małogosz Gminas, approaches the problem of returning respect for human endeavor in the same way. In his opinion, the operation of regional (military) groups is a factor forcing peasants, cooperators and factory workers to reflect on what they do and to become aware of their responsibility for the accomplishment of specified obligations, not only in special circumstances such as during martial law but always, every work day. Of course, this also pertains to all supervisory organs, which ought to be discharging their duties with feelings of full responsibility.

"Do we have a medicine for the illnesses of our economy and administration?" asks Maj Tadeusz Ostrowski, commissar at the office of the chief of Sochaczew Gmina. "Yes and no. Yes, because the service taught us that there is nothing that cannot be taken care of, that every activity, if only it is thought through and consistent, must bring about the desired result. Yes, because we have solidly trained habits of internal discipline, because we fully realize the meaning and goal set for us by the Military Council of National Salvation. No, because we do not substitute for elements of authority, we do not take over their powers but are only on the alert to assure that that authority does what it is supposed to do honestly."

At the same time, the major and his service colleagues relate the last statement to various matters with which gmina authorities should be concerned--those that are important, as well as those that seemingly are minor, but real for citizens, and, also, what are now priority tasks of strengthening the ties between the city and the village. Thanks to this, essential food will get to residents of municipal agglomerates. This was confirmed by the recent voluntary declaration of the sale of agricultural products in the gminas. Its results indicate an understanding of the economic difficulties by agricultural producers, an understanding shown by furnishing tens of tons of meat, grain and milk to collection points.

#### In the Thicket of City Problems

The soldiers performing their duties in cities see and describe the operating problems of administrative and economic elements in similar fashion. The problems facing them are different from those being solved by their colleagues in gminas. A common denominator of this work is bringing authority closer to problems facing the citizen. The approval and respect, as well as society's gratitude, which greet the military groups provide the best evidence that the military is consistently accomplishing that fact.

"Among the multitude of problems that we must deal with in the Marszawa-Zoliborz area, the most essential is supplying basic food articles to residents," explains Maj Zygmunt Mazur. "We pay particular attention to the operation of the trade network. Before 13 December we had to intervene many times with store managers

relative to the propriety of distributing certain goods. However, after the declaration of martial law, these problems underwent substantial improvement. All trade units are operating the way they are supposed to; improvement is noted in the attitudes of personnel with respect to concern for their customers.

This of course gives reason for satisfaction as well as raising the question. Are we as a society so odd that we only manage to function normally under circumstances of extreme necessity? Only a few days ago, sellers and store customers gave the impression of two opposing, clearly hostile forces. Persons on both sides of the counter are characterized by a full understanding of the conditions that are a part of their daily life. However, are dramatic circumstances capable of getting us to be more considerate of one another and more human?

Every day of military involvement in municipal problems proves that this question remains open. Those "oddities" in our mutual behavior to one another are not typical only in the frequently brutal scenes observed in stores.

"It is positively embarrassing that older people were not able to depend on the help of fellow citizens. What officers from my group ascertained in this respect, compels one to deeper reflection. In the face of the growing anarchy in our life, and paralysis in the functioning of municipal administration, many older persons experienced enormous problems in satisfying their basic needs. Thanks to the immediate solution of basically minor transportation problems, the military gave real help to many elderly individuals, primarily older women. What would have happened had the decision not been made to mobilize the operational groups?" asks Lt-Col Mieczyslaw Klimczak.

Officers supervising the health service in Torun also asked themselves these kinds of questions. The technical condition of the hospital service buildings aroused the particular indignation of Col [decent, doctor] Piotr Pec and Col [master's degree] Jan Kowalski.

"What we found in the Children's Hospital defies good sense," says Lt Col Bronislaw Guzni. "Deviations from elementary construction and fire prevention principles are tolerated in this hospital as a regular thing. One must simply lack imagination to permit the hospital to operate under such conditions. Has the participation of the army required to confirm this state of affairs? Certainly these deficiencies did not arise in recent months. They accumulated for years. What were management of the Voivodship Hospital, and municipal authorities doing in the hospital?"

We again return to our initial thesis, that all of the evil surrounding us was nourished by lack of responsibility, laziness bordering on idiocy, failure to perform duties and lack of close supervision. That was the situation in Torun hospital. But of course stipulations of this type can be attributed to negative phenomena and to other areas of municipal life, among others, to housing policy, transportation and the communal economy. These areas are directly linked to citizen interest. Their proper functioning eases life for each of us and makes it normal. On the other hand, every departure from it disturbs living conditions, evokes emotions and justifiably arouses public anger.

The activity of regional and municipal operational group commissioners and KOK plenipotentiaries effectively puts a stop to all previous irregularities in city and village life. It is resolute, comprehensive and effective activity. It eliminates from administrative and economic elements those who are incapable of coping with their assignments and responsibilities. It makes the life of an average citizen more bearable. That is the social need.

Maj. Józef Berkowski

10433  
CSO: 2600/201

## COMMENTARY ON SCHOOL STRIKE ACTIVIST DECLARATION NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Dec 81 p 2

(Article by Olgierd Butrym: "A Side-Note on Dr J. Walasek's Declaration")

[Text] Radio listeners, television viewers, and readers of TRYBUNA LUDU surely noted the declaration of Dr Janusz Walasek, research worker for the Higher School of Engineering (WSI) in Radom, chairman of the Plant Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity in that school, and--just as importantly--chairman of the nationally famous strike committee.

I would like to direct attention to certain trends in Dr J. Walasek's declaration. He admits that at the moment when the student strike wave was spreading, he realized that the strike committee of WSI, which he chaired, had lost "complete control over strike action in the Radom school." The author of the declaration truthfully directs attention to the role of the Interfactory Workers' Commission (KKR) of the Radom Territory Solidarity, the Solidarity Nationwide Consultative Committee--Science (OKPN), and the National Coordination Commission (KKK) of the Independent Association of Students (NZS), which--to quote Dr J. Walasek--"unmistakably aimed at prolonging nationwide strike action in the academic community and at keeping up tension in the nation. This tension, especially in the early days of December--in my opinion--was necessary to extreme elements in Solidarity for achieving political goals."

Honorable words. For soberly thinking people there was not the slightest doubt that the strike of part of the students and employees of higher schools was a fundamental element in the general strategy of increasing tension in the nation and that it was openly aimed at General Wojciech Jaruzelski's doctrine--the doctrine of building national understanding.

I take Dr J. Walasek's declaration as the sincere and bitter reflection of a research employee who had the moral courage to write that he is concerned about "eradicating from the life of the nation all anarchistic and extremist individuals who are not interested at heart in the wellbeing of our fatherland."

But Dr J. Walasek's statement compels me to recall several more circumstances. The organizers of the strike in the Radom WSI, in particular the inspirers, in transforming that local conflict into action involving all aspects of the environment, brutally violated the principle of the autonomy of the higher school, interfering unceremoniously in the internal affairs of the Radom school, and they--the

paradox under the slogans--were autonomists! Totally cast aside here were all the sober voices of those who from the beginning of the conflict in the Radom WSI warned against any types of and anyone's external interference and called for respect for the school's autonomy. But it is difficult to be surprised, for the question after all was not one of the self-government and autonomy of WSI.

And still one more matter. In the Radom conflict and in the November-December strike, a particular role, worthy of being noted, was played by the various conferences of the rectors of Polish schools (at first of the technical schools and later of the usurpatory creation under the name of the Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools).

In the context of Dr J. Walasek's declaration it is worth recalling that in a 6 December declaration the Conference of Rectors announced neither more nor less than assuming the function of an organ which would coordinate the protest activity of the academic society! It is difficult to be surprised, therefore, that NZS KKK expressed complete support for the rectors' declaration, acknowledging it--quite correctly--as "unprecedented." A few days later, on 10 December, the Conference of Rectors passed a subsequent declaration in which it identified itself with the organizers of the student strikes, expressing to them acknowledgement "for taking up the protest in the name of the whole academic society." The declaration of 10 December points out also that it was precisely the strike initiated by NZS and Solidarity that led to the integration of the national academic community, the expression of which was the formation of the "Conference." One cannot help but have the impression that the rectors signing their names under these words realized that the Conference was the offspring of the strike.

No one, who cherishes the principal causes of the Poles, is looking today for retaliation. But more than one of yesterday's initiators of various Conferences and such creations could do with examining his conscience. Dr Janusz Walasek's declaration is frankly inclined in that direction.

9541  
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BRIEFS

DEATH OF AIR FORCE OFFICER--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 January 1982 page 4 reports the death of Air Force Lieutenant General Ion Tau, "after a long and serious illness." The obituaries identify Tau as the former commander general of the Center for the Instruction of Aeronautical Personnel. The paper also publishes condolences from the "Gheorghe Zarnescu family." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/171

## GALOVIC SPEAKS OUT ON SUBFEDERAL-LEVEL STATISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1616, 29 Nov 81 pp 10-13

[Approved excerpts from remarks made to SIS by Spiro Galovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee]

[Text] Spiro Galovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, visited SIS and spoke with reporters about social, political and economic conditions in the country and about topics to be debated at LCY congresses. SIS is here publishing parts of the authorized text of Galovic's remarks.

[Remarks] We should not be surprised by the fact that many social problems here in Yugoslavia are being resolved with more effort and difficulty than previously. Isn't that a component of our choice? In a democratic, self-management society, particularly a multinational community, there is not, nor can there be, the simplicity that can appear to be so attractive, until one perceives the amount of freedom lacking in it in national, social and creative terms.

What is bad cannot be justified, but we must understand that the development and fortification of a particular model for social decisionmaking requires a larger or smaller number of mistakes. Yet how can we avoid blunders, deviation and the strengthening of tendencies that contradict the basic direction and bring unity and community into question, while cloaking themselves precisely in the slogans of that community spirit and of self-management?

We cannot defend our system while in practice we are, step by step, moving away from it. The principles of reaching agreements and economic cooperation still are not effective simply because every economic decision must seek purely political approval. What is more, the existing economic bonds are breaking, and the fact that they are breaking along the borders speaks clearly of the basic reasons for this occurrence. This domination of politics over economics was clearly perceived by the Congress of Self-Management, which also expressed the critical consciousness of the Yugoslav working class about the deeper significance of our divisions and separations in fundamental social relationships and in many other aspects of life. We cannot let this criticism simply be forgotten, for real limiting of a false direction in our development is impossible this time, as previously, without a political struggle and sharp criticism.

The republic and province station that has emerged is the bureaucratic antithesis of the former federal centralism. Instead of centralism, we have polycentrism but we have not overcome the essential bureaucratism. The criticism of which I speak must lead to a change in the power relationship, not in favor of centralism but in favor of self-management.

Another factor that we must consider is the renewed coupling of the party and the government. The bureaucratization of society always includes this process, which threatens the party's critical position and its real bond to the masses. Naturally, this bond is difficult to compare with the former one but it is no less dangerous. We need no other proof of that beside the perception that differences in party discussion often coincide with other differences; there are few differences that occur within republics and provinces or, if they do exist, they largely remain concealed.

In the struggle against bureaucratic polycentrism, centralistic and unitary standpoints are already being expressed. At times they also appear in the press in Yugoslavia. As far as our responsibility is concerned, it is not important that the people who express those viewpoints are not always from Serbia. Some forget that we are a multinational community and they indulge in their yearning for unity and a monolithic state, which in the last instance halts any discussion. Do we need to say that, in our battle against bureaucratic polycentrism, unitarism cannot be our ally? Centralism is senseless and irrational from a Serbian nationalist standpoint, as well as from any other nationalist standpoint. It is contrary to the interests of the working class and to the building of a community feeling that has liberating importance for all of us in Yugoslavia. It is important for us to separate our efforts for unity and community from any effort for centralism; otherwise we can involuntarily become involved in something that will draw us into centralism.

By clearly rejecting any centralistic viewpoint, we will create the basis for a penetrating, critical testing of bureaucratism that we encounter. Only from that foundation can we find a productive way to reject that criticism that sees any effort for more cohesion in our republic and in Yugoslavia as "the wind on the backs" of centralism and unitarism. We know that some tricks seek to shift the focus of the political struggle in directions it should not go; they are the ideological expression of that bureaucratic power that has set itself up above both the immediate and the long-term interests of the working class. Bureaucratism threatens the equality of peoples and nationalities, regardless of its level. We have seen convincing proof of this in Kosovo. The full social content of equality is only realized in socialist community and unity, which reject both federal and republic or provincial forms of centralism and unitarism.

An open encounter with the economic regionalism that divides the working class is the best guarantee for a successful battle against nationalism. Every antinationalist position, if it truly wants to be that, must also be an antistatist position. In the struggle against nationalism, it is important to cut more deeply into the social conditions from which the nationalist consciousness emerges and it emerges from the statist social relationships, from bureaucratism that has not been overcome and that has regenerated. If those social conditions are not

changed, then nationalism will remain alive, even when its visible and, as a rule, marginal manifestations are attacked.

### Stagnation Wounds Socialism

The question is how to emerge from the difficulties and solve the many problems so that they will not return tomorrow in an even worse form. There are steadily fewer people who find the entire solution in rolling up our sleeves once and for all and taking on the task. Only part of the truth is found there. We dare not forget that there will be no progress without a social program that will provide answers to the chief demands of the times and that will open a developmental vista for the long term.

Many of Kardelj's works contain a thought that will long provide support: Stagnation is the factor that wounds a socialist society. In that sense, it is really true that one cannot live on past glory. It is clear to everyone that the real social problems cannot be solved by simply repeating quotations and fundamental principles. Naturally, neither can we resolve them in the opposite way of piling up critical evaluations and sharp judgments, in a type of competition that dis-orientates people and causes more confusion than clarity.

A critical illumination of the true relationships remains the fundamental need of our society and a crucial condition for confronting the institutions and people with true responsibility. Thus, when we are speaking of criticism, there is no need for any sort of fear. Yet criticism is the easier part of the task. It is more difficult to organize work in which ideas, proposals and viewpoints will lead to clarity and acceptability and then to actual change in social practice.

In the mirror of current criticism, our Yugoslav social situation appears rather chaotic. In part, that comes from the nature of the public--if we are speaking about the democratic and not the "directed" public--that is a component of social dynamics, of research and gradual approach to decisions. Thus by definition it is contradictory and represents a mobile series of opinions, which in many ways have nothing in common and which often are in complete opposition to one another.

The difficulties emerge only when the leading forces in society lack initiative and when, in the center of social life, the League of Communists remains turned inward and is insufficiently tied to the delegate system, to scholarship and culture. It is most important that, by the time of the congress, we overcome as much as possible that certain introspection of the LCY, the lack of debate on important questions, the restriction of our horizon to external manifestations of social trends.

Without the creative work of the LCY, of its agencies, bodies and research centers and especially without markedly more activity by the SANPY and the communists in it, the public debate in the Yugoslav press and other media and the public debate in general will lose one of its crucial supports. Without that, the public will become too amorphous, contentious and unaccepting. The assertions of the right and of the false left will remain unanswered; to that degree, certain trends will take place in social life that can hardly be regarded as socialist. It is, however, important to see the connection between such public trends and the weakness of the League of Communists. For the delegate system to be able to smash

trends contrary to self-management and to resist the bureaucratization that seeks to grasp it from inside, the LCY must gather all the creative forces of society for its own investigations before the congress, particularly in SAWPY actions. There, naturally, it is not a matter of some mechanical gathering of data but rather of action that will lead to the expression of ideas, from personalities who will show their capabilities and the progressiveness of their viewpoints. Only in that kind of democratic, creative work can the LCY become more deeply bound to the public and to public opinion, connected in a creative, and not a restrictive, sense.

Without that, the LCY lacks the bases for true penetration, either in ideas or in social practice. Its only options are to take a liberal's neutral stand toward criticism or to recognize the criticism in proclamations but not in actions. For a party that falls to such positions, the chief concern is to discipline its ideology and thought.

The recent years have been perhaps too stormy and thereby unfavorable for patient work on the daily affirmation of conceptions about our political system that, on the basis of Kardelj's analysis, were adopted by the 11th LCY Congress. The central idea at that time related to the LCY, in obliging it to work in a different way. In crisis, in some ways and at some times we have moved backward, stifled discussion, so that in many aspects of social life we had neither a democratic agreement nor effective directives. In that situation, we entered into endless debates on topics that were not without importance but were not the most important. For example, there was general agreement that mandates needed to be shortened considerably; we used too much time and energy debating whether the term of office should everywhere be restricted to a single year and what that linear application of Comrade Tito's initiative would mean in terms of the need to increase responsibility in society. Would this not weaken what we wanted to strengthen and strengthen what we wanted to weaken?

Many of our institutions are not functioning as truly democratic, working mechanisms; this situation will continue as long as they are regarded as something totally known and perfected, as the repetition of old experiences in new forms. In essence, however, they are based on incomplete experience; they are open possibilities that can become real only on the basis of our complete readiness to think and act in a largely new manner.

#### **Initiative Instead of Fear of Differences**

When words are transformed into actions, in many cases people see the democratic delegate practice as precisely that type of relationship to which they have long been accustomed. They agree to debate to the extent that it confirms their opinions, decisions already made or well-known positions. This is connected to an obvious unreadiness actually to organize debates in the SAWPY, to prepare and develop them as we have conceived them, from day to day, in a climate that would convincingly affirm values and suppress conservatism of any type. The true pluralism of self-management interests can hardly be expressed, precisely because the Socialist Alliance remains uninvolved in decisionmaking in society. Instead of being a broad front of organized socialist forces, at times the SAWPY functions like a solid core of the LCY.

Are democracy and social progress at all possible in our society without the creative initiatives of the political centers? In our aversion to the directives of central positions and the concentration of power, we would not dare overlook their responsibilities for the creative dimensions of social and political life and their constant initiative in implementing democratically established policies. If they do not fill that social need, if they fail to research and make deliberate suggestions, then the centers themselves become in a way impotent observers of events. The discussion can be constant and broad, without anybody being able to see a solution. Important sessions remain for the affirmation of goals and for the constant repetition of general principles, but means for implementing those goals remain untouched. From that viewpoint, some positions that today reject democratic centralism in the LCY are harmful.

The fear of differences of opinion comes naturally from the lack of initiative; political condemnation and disqualification are applied in places where they make a sense, while on the other hand the kind of criticism outside any limits of responsibility is strengthened. This happens either because there is no desire to share responsibility for social decisions or because the way is closed that leads to responsible, comprehensive debate that should precede decisions. A certain confusion expressed in social decisions cannot help but spawn confusion in public life and in the media. Yet people are more alarmed by situations that they encounter than by opinions that they may hear or read. At times we forget this to the detriment of healthy thought.

The position that our decisions and conclusions are good but their implementation is poor, cannot be supported. The value of decisions and conclusions is best indicated in their implementation. Many decisions and conclusions are far from any sort of operational development, so that they can neither be implemented nor even used to develop practical measures based on points of principle or the standards specified by the basic laws of the land. Rather, they are in essence contradictory to those principles.

It becomes increasingly clear that our system cannot develop all by itself without such more organized work at all levels of social organization. Therefore, this must occur in society's central agencies; political functionaries can no longer flee from what they regard to be the technical aspect of the development of the system. The system most frequently encounters real problems in that dimension, in deeper testing of viewpoints of principle and in conflicts that cannot be resolved without creative work that was brilliantly demonstrated by such leaders as Boris Kidric and Mihailo Popovic. These perceptions have been expressed in the debate at the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee, in numerous initiatives of the Jugosav Presidium in recent months and in the establishment of a special commission for stabilization, with Srgjan Krajkov as its president.

We must also ask whether our society is losing the capability for creative innovation, but not just to frighten ourselves with the dangers of possible shortages of inspiration in society. A society's progressiveness is confirmed not so much by general proclamations as by programs that can be implemented and by the everyday dynamics of progress. Can we free ourselves of that rhetoric that is a poor replacement for real work? Even in the LCY, the critical consciousness not infrequently is just at the level of ordinary perception of unfavorable facts so that

it does not differ markedly from criticism of the position of so-called abstract humanism. All of this is also valid for some of our political speeches that have purely propaganda inspiration, for they are divorced from any labor or research. Much of this is regarded to be missing in our everyday life, while there is little constructive thought that truly speaks to the problems of the times. The question is: How can we organize labor, bind together the scattered potential in scholarship, find the strength and the tolerance to hear various opinions and involve specialists and knowledge in implementing proposals? Politics is not a science, nor should it be. This says nothing bad about politics but, in losing its support in science and knowledge in general, politics has been too slow to become integrated into society and has remained isolated. Let concrete projects and alternative proposals be developed and let the value or unacceptability of viewpoints be shown in discussion. There are, and will be, unacceptable viewpoints and there are ones that more or less openly bring the basic presuppositions of our society into question, in the socioeconomic or political sphere. Yet we will be better in the end with such viewpoints, based on the creative strengths of our sciences and culture, on progressive social thought and, most importantly, on better organized and properly directed labor.

I am far from agreement with those simplifications that everything would go smoothly for us if only we would rely a little more on specialization and science, as though science lay outside actual social conflicts resulting from differing interests. The crucial responsibility of the League of Communists today, when bold research is so necessary for us, is to open ways to bind the interests of the working class and of scientific thought, to make the freedom of science be precisely in the discovery of ways to affirm class interests as well as those of society.

12131  
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SHORTCOMINGS OF DELEGATE SYSTEM PROBED IN INTERVIEW

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 30 Nov 81 p 10

[Interview with Miodrag Visnjic, chairman of the Committee for the Political System of the Sociopolitical Council of the Serbian Assembly, by unspecified journalist; date and place of interview not specified: "The Delegate Excursion Into the Unknown"]

[Text] Soon we will have the delegate elections, the third since the 1974 Constitution established the delegate system as a separate political subsystem within the sociopolitical system of socialist self-management. The forthcoming elections, scheduled for next spring, are already very much a "hit" with the Socialist Alliance, agitators and those responsible for the voting, who will "recruit" an army of over 3 million members of delegations and delegates. The past two terms of office of the delegate assemblies are a good occasion for an inventory of the state of the delegate system.

Our subject, Miodrag Visnjic, is the "right" person for these questions. He is connected with the delegate system by both political function and scientific affinity. He is the chairman of the Committee for the Political System of the Sociopolitical Council of the Serbian Assembly and has been a scientific worker for many years. He is the author of a recently published study (Miodrag Visnjic, "The Delegate System in the Political System of Socialist Self-Management").

[Question] Two delegate assembly terms are behind us. The initial forms of its organization are of course neither final and unalterable nor finished and perfected. As a "specialist" in this problem, tell us, how well has the initial set of instruments of the delegate system withstood the test of time and practice?

[Answer] Well, it has withstood the strongest and most powerful shocks, although in practice only the initial results have been achieved. More precisely, during this period the delegate system demonstrated its historical possibilities, rather than becoming an actual instrument through which the working people and citizens make decisions. In fact, in its practice the delegate system has touched more upon its great potential for being a real and very democratic instrument for the rule of the working class, working people and citizens, than achieving it in practice. On the other hand, the so-called institutional structure has been constructed in the elections of delegations for the assemblies, instead of the social content and meaning of the delegate system being realized; i.e., the construction of

the social and delegate relations between, let us say arbitrarily, those who vote and those who decide. The achievement of these relations in particular and of similar ones is only beginning.

All in all, the overall results from the implementation of the delegate system should neither be overestimated nor underestimated. As a matter of fact, spectacular results have not been achieved, as sometimes said in our political papers and reports, but neither can one say that no progress has been made. Realistically, what has been achieved is still something. It is even a good prerequisite for the further development of more complete and more substantive relations in implementing the delegate system. Finally, this is a question of new sociopolitical relations; relations cannot be established by declarations and proclamations. One must struggle for them; they must be implemented and built.

#### Delegate Crossroads

[Question] In your opinion, how close to the planned model is the present delegate system?

[Answer] If one condenses the overall results of delegate relations, the conclusions can be stated in two ways. If one examines the situation in comparison with 1974 when we introduced the delegate system after the adoption of the constitution, then it is a great step forward. If it is viewed from the aspect of what we expect from the delegate system, what it should represent, then it is only a modest beginning. One should always keep in mind, however, that it is not, and has not been, realistic to expect the delegate system to establish itself and develop in such a short period. This is a historic task for a socialist self-managing community such as ours. One should therefore be critical but also objective: The delegate system has taken root and begun to live. This is the most essential thing. As for implementation, the only way it can proceed is step by step.

[Question] Of course, you have in mind numerous positive experiences for giving a provisional assessment of the delegate system so far. Which of them do you consider the most important?

[Answer] First of all, the delegate system was accepted by the working class, working people and citizens, although they have not yet sufficiently mastered it as their class weapon. The greatest result is precisely the fact that it has become part of the consciousness of our people. Today no one could abolish the delegate system or want to, because these very working people and citizens would defend it. They rely on it; this is the first prerequisite for it becoming someday a real political and material force in society. In addition to this step, however, which is a historic one in the development of the delegate system, a positive trend can also be followed specifically in practical events. Thus, today one can already speak of the greater openness of our assemblies. They are under the public eye to a much greater degree than before. After this there is also the present audience of over 3 million members of delegations and delegates. Of course, they are not all involved in all spheres of social life and decisionmaking. But even such a "reduced" number is of course far greater than what we had before 1974.

## Inconsistency in Implementation

[Question] The numerous weaknesses in the past operation of the delegate system cannot be bypassed either. Which would you single out as the most serious ones?

[Answer] If we start from the fact that the essence of the delegate system is establishing permanent links between the working people and their delegations and the delegates, then it must be said that practice has shown that this link is most frequently broken in two places: either between the working people and the delegations or between the delegations and the delegates. Actually, either the delegation does not have enough contacts with the working people and citizens, or the delegate is even alienated from the delegation in some way. The reasons for this vary, of course. There are three main sources, or rather three groups of problems and the corresponding factors in the development of the delegate system. One could be defined as the incompleteness of the institutional solutions; the second as inconsistency in implementing what we recorded and the third as a gathering of conscious resistance to the development of the delegate system. If we were to arrange these three groups of problems in a certain sequence, I would rank first our inconsistency in implementing what is clear, what we accepted as a society, what is our concept, our policy, our goal. Conscious resistance could come second, and I would only put theoretical and practical incompleteness in third place. One should nevertheless admit that there are also certain issues that we as a society have not completely worked out.

[Question] You are probably also including the election system itself. Doesn't it seem to you that as it is, it does not always serve the delegate system?

[Answer] Correct. Many criticisms of the delegate system originate precisely in the fact that the election system is not yet sufficiently coordinated with the requirements of the development of the delegate system. We can say quite freely that we still do not have an election system sufficiently suitable for the delegate system. In 1974 we introduced a new election system, but it stopped halfway in the transition between the representative system and the delegate system. As such, it contains a considerable amount of the representative system. Furthermore, it is still rather formalized and even too complicated to realize successfully some essential aspects of delegate relations. This can also be seen in the fact that we have not even changed the identification apparatus. We still speak about the election system, while in a delegate system it should be a delegation system. We still speak of the voter, while our voter is a worker and a citizen. We speak of election units, when it is a delegation unit.

## The Audience as a Factor

[Question] Should something be changed in the method for delegate decisionmaking itself?

[Answer] Of course it should. Many categories and institutions exist unchanged or almost unchanged. It is obvious that their content and meaning do not suit the delegate system. Let us take the institution of amendments, for example. They are frequently used at the meeting to change some decision that has been the subject of a very extensive public discussion. Should this happen, and can it

happen like this in delegate decisionmaking, which presupposes coordination and very extensive consultation? Of course I am not excluding the need for an amendment, but it has to be adapted to the new system.

Next, one weakness of both the earlier representative system and our present delegate method of operation has been the relationship between the executive and administrative bodies. In fact, one can still, especially in the communes, feel the pressure exerted on the assemblies by the executive bodies. Everything that they propose is accepted. Of course, this is not necessarily bad in itself. This relationship, however, is not sufficiently coordinated, because the executive bodies are in the position of both proposing and creating, and [thus] serve much less to carry out what is decided in the assembly.

It is the same thing with the issue of public discussions. We once bragged about these public discussions as if this were the scope of our democracy. But in the delegate system, did we change at least something in these public discussions in the representative system? We changed almost nothing. We are conducting them just as before. Instead of summing up a public discussion and giving support or not, a public discussion in the delegate system should in fact be organized as a method for acquiring guidance and for what is expressed in the public discussion to proceed then through the delegate mechanism to the assembly. Thus, a public discussion should be brought out through the delegate system and come to the assembly; someone somewhere should not sum up the positions of the working people and present them to the assembly.

[Question] It seems that practice shows us that there is also a fair amount of irrationality in the delegate system?

[Answer] Possibly this could be said, especially if the delegate system is understood as a way for everyone to decide about everything. Our system was never conceived so that every worker and citizen would have to decide on every issue, both the most important and the most trivial. This is neither rational nor feasible in practice in a complex and developed society such as ours. As a society we are not organized enough for a delegate system, nor rational enough. At every level of decisionmaking there should be agreement on which questions we should all be consulted about, all of the workers and citizens. If, for example, a communal assembly decides about 100 issues during a year, then it should know exactly that all of the working people and citizens should take a position on 20 of these. On the other hand they all do not have to do this for the remaining 80; it is enough for the delegations to take a position, but again only the ones interested in it. A rigorous selection should be made here. Otherwise, we will end up in a situation in which allegedly everything can be done but in fact nothing can be done.

#### Democratic Decoration

[Question] In this preelection period a great discussion is taking place on how to elect the delegates. In your opinion, does more candidates mean more democracy?

[Answer] The delegate system, and our overall political system, by the nature of the matter should have several candidates for one position. But no one should

interpret this literally, even one candidate can be an expression of real democracy if he has been chosen democratically and if he is the result of the attitudes and views of everyone in this milieu. Just as one candidate can be undemocratic under certain conditions, two or three candidates can very often be only a democratic decoration, because along with the "real candidate," allegedly to be more democratic, other candidates are added, ones who do not have any chance of being elected. This can really make a mockery of democracy. Thus, it is normal to have several candidates, but this does not mean that there must be several for every position. It is not just a question of the number of candidates but rather the procedure by which they are chosen. This is the great obligation and responsibility of sociopolitical organizations in preparing and carrying out the forthcoming elections.

[Question] Tell us, finally, something more about the role of sociopolitical organizations in implementing the delegate system.

[Answer] The sociopolitical organizations are not yet sufficiently performing their role in the sociopolitical system and thus in the delegate and assembly system. They have not yet really become part of the delegate system and are not sufficiently active within it. This attitude toward the delegate system varies from two extremes that we could define either as a certain sort in our disassociation or as a sort of directivism. To tell the truth, the sociopolitical organizations are least of all playing their proper role as the internal, guiding ideological-political and active force behind the delegate system. This is their historic responsibility. They must struggle to have the centers of decisionmaking in the delegate system and not to have the delegate audience serve only as a democratic facade for legalizing decisions that have already been made somewhere else.

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CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER READINESS TO HANDLE EMERGENCIES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1614, 6 Dec 81 pp 18-19

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "What Can Surprise Us"]

[Text] On the summons to the military drill "Nothing must surprise us," posted on the bulletin board of a shopping center in Split this October, was written: "In case of rain the drill will be postponed."

Fortunately, October in Split is usually fair, so that rain did not surprise the participants of the drill "Nothing must surprise us." "War" broke out during fair weather and the drill is said to have been quite successful.

On television one can watch two types of such drills: either a well organized, convincing drill under conditions approximating those of a war, an earthquake, a fire or a flood, or else three bumpkins in civil defense uniforms with three fire extinguishers, dousing three small boards which have been set on fire, to the accompaniment of a speaker's voice announcing from "offstage" that "the enemy forces had not the slightest success in accomplishing their intentions."

Papers and Reality

These are some examples from drills constituting a part of the system of national defense, which includes individual units and headquarters for civil defense, forces of social self-protection, observation, notification, intelligence and alarm services, as well as a part of the forces for territorial defense. Along with the rest of territorial defense and Yugoslav national defense forces, it makes up the total system of national defense and social self-protection, which we have successfully been developing from 1968 to the present.

Speaking in late October at a conference on socialist education as a heritage of the National Liberation Struggle, Stipe Suvar, among other things, spoke briefly on preparations for defense: "In the past few decades we, too, have done a lot to be prepared for national defense. But the recent events in Kosovo have also shown that we are better at paperwork and at details than in real situations. This territorial defense, as it functioned, essentially broke down. This means that there is still much left to be done in this area, in which the National Liberation Struggle is also an inspiration to us...."

Discussions on civil defense are not an exclusively domestic topic. There has been much said on this subject recently among circles of experts of the two superpowers. In the middle of last month Joseph Luns, secretary general of NATO, asked the members of the Western coalition to pay the greatest attention possible to civil defense. He mentioned how during World War II the greatest number of casualties incurred among civilians and that more people died from the Allied bombing of Dresden than from the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. Luns cited the example of neutral Switzerland, which has space in specially constructed shelters for 90 percent of its population. Every Swiss citizen between the ages of 17 and 30 must participate once a year in civil defense drills. By the laws of that country all new buildings must be constructed with shelters for their residents. It is true that some Western experts consider that large-scale construction of fallout shelters creates an illusion of security. In the case of the superpowers it may create the feeling that not only is a nuclear war possible but that it is possible to "win" such a war. But let us return to domestic business.

#### Figures and trends

The people who work in our civil defense services assure us that there are no problems in the area of preparation for an armed struggle against a possible aggressor. The other side of the story consists of other forms of resistance, among which is civil defense.

Stjepan Ljubić, federal secretary for national defense, stated at the February session of the Central Committee of the UCP that our civil defense forces have increased to 2.3 million people, grouped into 50,000 units and 15,000 headquarters.

"There has been a marked improvement in the quality and form of their training for both war conditions of war and peace and for cooperation with the other components of national defense and social self-protection. There has likewise been an improvement in the civil defense system, although it is still unsatisfactory, particularly as concerns the construction of shelters, which lags far behind needs. The organization, intelligence and alarm service has, despite some results, developed rather slowly. It has not yet have a well-linked and unified system, in the sense of organization and function," Ljubić stated.

Speaking of a possible war, Ljubić added that in organizing the civil defense system one should insist on a broad scale and an improved training of the population for such cases. It is especially important to construct an effective defense system in the large cities and industrial areas, since the main problems of civil defense will be solved there.

At the same time, Defense Minister Ljubić announced that since the Eleventh Congress the armed forces of Serbia's territorial defense had increased by almost one-third. A similar increase was noted for units of civil defense, in which 45 percent are women at present.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina units for nationwide defense and social self-protection were formed in 1976 and 1977 in all the basic organizations of associated labor and local community organizations. These units have 220,000 members, of which 18,000 are women. About 100,000 people are involved in some way in civil defense.

As far as numbers are concerned, this is only a part of what we call nationwide defense.

The presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance analyzed the content of the drills and preparations for defense on 26 October. Milan Rakas spoke on his earlier experience in Croatia, where he has spent some time analyzing the degree to which drills have taken on the character of a demonstration, and the degree to which they give tangible results:

"I must say that, although I am as satisfied as can be with what has been accomplished, analyses nevertheless reveal a number of weaknesses. Not only our experience with Kosovo but also minor excesses show that our daily drills have elements of demonstration and that not everything is exactly as we describe it. This can be seen from the most ordinary summer fires on the seacoast and from similar occurrences in working organizations."

This was the reason why we discussed this topic. Rakas says that the time has come to make more than paper preparations, since nearly every local community organization has an excellent plan, but an unannounced check shows that many things can surprise us: Kosovo, a fire, a flood....

"I am against militarizing everything," Rakas tells us. "But there are some things which we must deal with more seriously. If drills have no real content then they are a waste of time. Labor organizations and local community organizations must drill, and this is more effective than mass demonstrations, which have the character of a spectacle. Besides this, we must solve the problem of shelter and equipment, as well as perfecting a system of mobilization, since the aggressor will not choose a day or time for his activity."

At the Presidency the example was given of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there are surprise checks of preparedness. Such checks, for 2 years in a row, in two different municipalities in that republic, revealed deficiencies--ranging from duplication of programs to ignorance of duty and obligation. Such checks are, by the way, continuing, since they have demonstrated how certain plans are unwieldy, involving an excess of paperwork, "an excess of refined, polished evaluations of the political and security situation, which have little resemblance to the actual situation." This is why such checks constitute the best means for improving overall readiness, according to Veljko Droca.

#### Changing Our Plan of Action

In Croatia this year's "Nothing must surprise us" drill, seventh in the series, was carried out in a different manner. The drill was not organized at the same time in all areas of the republic. In scale, the drills were carried on at inter-opatina level and opatina level; in form and goals they were adapted to local conditions. Six years ago in this republic 200,000 people participated in the drills and in 1978 there were 2,850,000 participants. Last year's drill in Serbia involved 2 million and this year's 3 million citizens.

It is clear that these drills are changing. They are changing in response to the times, to new demands, and to practice. It happened, the Presidency heard, that

in a certain local community association the citizens discuss to great length how to prepare for every crisis situation, while a check revealed that they do not possess even a shovel for fire-fighting.

In Belgrade, where about 16 percent of the population is in civil defense units, the system functions extremely well in some of the local community organizations. According to statistics from 2 years ago, the city annually spends 10 million old dinars [about half a million U.S. dollars] for this purpose. All the same, it can happen that in buildings which have a shelter many residents do not know just where its entrance is. A large number of Belgrade skyscrapers have no auxiliary stairways, and in some buildings the fire-fighting equipment has not been recharged for years.

Judging by all the above, and especially by the candor with which the subject has been discussed of late, the era of "demonstration drills" and "support drills" has passed.

"Our plans," says Rakic, "which we discuss so well, are sometimes only a mystification which lies in a drawer, covered with official seals, nicely arranged and put in order, all the blanks filled, protected, but when we check whether a citizen knows where he is supposed to be in a crisis situation, he rarely receives a passing mark. This is why we advocate in this plan that every citizen should know his place, except for the most essential parts of the plan that is a secret. Thus a citizen must be familiar with everything which concerns him."

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SARAJEVO UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT LC MEETING

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Azra Nuhefendic and Branka Milicevic-Masic: "Inter-Faculty Conference of the Sarajevo LC"]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting, the Inter-Faculty LC Conference, was preceded by several hundred meetings and agreements by the Sarajevo University Communists, where they analyzed and critically evaluated the state of the ideological-political, organizational, and operational readiness and qualifications of the Communists and the basic organizations to undertake their historic role and perform it even better, and to carry out the tasks that await us.

The participants provided an exhaustive and well-rounded picture of the state of ideological-political and operational qualifications and the level of LC organization in organizations of associated labor in higher education.

Professor Stojan Tomic, the coordinator of the working presidium for preparations for the Inter-Faculty Conference, stressed in his introductory speech that one may rely on such a Communist force, consisting of 12,000 LC members--students, teachers, and workers, as many as there are at the university.

At the end of his presentation, the introductory speaker discussed several tasks that he feels may be derived from an overall analysis of the state and problems of the LC at the university. Within this context he said there is reason for a discussion of the reason for the low level of ideological and political differentiation in individual LC organizations and in individual faculties. The LC organizational issue is becoming an obstacle for many contents, tasks, and actions. The number of organizations in some faculties requires that more adequate forms of LC organization and activity be found and put into effect as soon as possible.

One is also given cause for thought and further analysis by the fact that a large number of LC organizations have directed their attention and activity to peripheral or less important issues, and left the essential ones out of their area of activity. The same attention is also merited by the fact that it has been established that the work of Communists in sociopolitical organizations and self-management organizations has been neglected and is far from what is necessary and possible.

## Teaching in the Background

Momo Sevarika, a student in the Veljko Vlahovic Faculty of Political Sciences, showed in his speech how the insufficient involvement of Communists at higher educational institutions has an unfavorable effect on the reason why these institutions exist--the educational and scholarly process and the reforms conducted within this framework. The insufficient vigilance, involvement, and ideological-political readiness of some LC members and organizations in the field of higher education have led to the accumulation of various problems and difficulties, which have had an extensive effect on the work and overall activity of this faculty, according to Sevarika. The atmosphere of passiveness and relaxation of the Communists at the faculty in recent years have been fertile ground for the appearance in some LC members of views that are alien to Party policy, occurrences of arbitrary and opportunistic behavior, factionalism, and conflicts among the interests of individuals. Thus, instead of having the basic LC organizations in this faculty engaged in advancing the method of work and enriching its content, the attention of Communists has now been almost entirely drawn away by the above-mentioned negative phenomena. Clearly, the educational process is pushed into the background in such a situation.

## Resolute Differentiation

Hamdija Pozderac, a member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, who participated in the work of yesterday's meeting, said among other things that "the issue of ideological qualification, and thus also its operational and organizational construction, is an exceptionally significant issue with which the LCY is now faced. The LC has over 2 million members. In the last 7 years the membership of the LC has doubled. Just from this, we have to admit the fact that the LC has "drawn in" something that is ideologically and politically not quite in line with the course of development of a socialist self-managing society. Furthermore, petty-bourgeois consciences have been drawn in. From the war on we have lived in peace, and this has never been the case before in the difficult history of our country. Likewise, the commodity and money economy also has a negative effect, even in our self-managing socialism. But we seem to be afraid to admit that this is our reality and that we must make a more energetic commitment in regard to these issues. It is precisely for this reason that there is not enough of such activity, and as can be seen from your reports, we also have ideological swamps and ideological opportunism, ideological impotence. What does this mean? We have our commitments, ideological and political. We are communists, and we are fighting for a classless communist society, for the achievement of the immediate and historical interests of the working class. In line with this we must fight against all those who do not respect this and who do not want to go together with us, but are in the LC. I think that a resolute differentiation should be carried out in the LC on the basis of these issues.

I think that there are fewer problems along this line among the students than among the teachers. I had an opportunity to participate in a discussion at the Faculty of Political Sciences within the framework of the preparations for this conference. I listened to many students there, as well as here today. They would "worry" a lot more, ideologically and politically, than we teachers worry anymore. But we teachers do not worry. We have become a little stagnant. We are satisfied with what we have and with what we will be or have.

At the same time, a great deal that has marked ideological and political significance is passing before us. It is passing by, but we do not even pay attention to it. I am talking about my colleagues, because I am a university teacher myself. There is a certain unacceptable logic of "coming to an understanding," that can be expressed in the relationship "don't do it to me, and I won't do it to you, so let's keep going." This has become fashionable today among those who are basically ideologically pure and politically committed to communism and socialism, but who do not join in the ideological and political struggle. Such people very often applaud those who are consistently involved in the development of our society, but if "something happens" to the one who is fighting, then they say, well, all right, he's had that coming to him for a long time. I am convinced that such people should be shaken up and jolted on the basis of the political and ideological line of the LC, because our democracy and our socialism have rejected a great deal that is worthwhile, as well as a great deal that is bad. We must therefore be qualified to distinguish and oppose energetically, in ideology and politics, what is contrary to the LC's ideological and political position and that of the working class, and to affirm what is real criticism. I will not speak of the opposition forces that criticize society as a whole on the basis of individual weaknesses.

I would like to say a few words in this very context regarding this real criticism, which uncovers negative phenomena in our society and which aims at a constructive change and correction in the situation, in line with the construction and development of socialist consciousness and self-managing relations. Sometimes, however, burdened by the baggage of the opposition criticism, we lose this real, creative, constructive criticism. We must say frankly what is what, however, in order for us to join in the ideological and political battle. Otherwise, we will make possible petty bourgeoisie and the penetration of other ideologies opposed to the LC, if not a stagnant situation.

For example, if something nationalistic or chauvinistic appears somewhere, and if someone reacts, then people say, why did he react, what way is that for him to react? Then they say, "We should have reacted to those occurrences." As a rule, however, there are no reactions from the areas in which such people operate. This cannot be explained except by a certain opportunism and unwillingness to conduct an ideological struggle by political means for further development of the socialist self-managing society, for surmounting the negative occurrences, and ensuring the rule of the working class," Hamdija Pozderac stated.

Hamdija Pozderac also spoke to the participants in the meeting about the situation in the world, and in this context, about the current events in Poland.

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